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The Last Days of
^{III}
LUTHER

by

Justus Jonas, Michael
Coelius, and Others

Translated and Annotated
by Martin Ebon. With an
Introduction by Theo-
dore G. Tappert

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Luther and Death

Theodore G. Tappert

The Lutheran Theological Seminary
Philadelphia

A sense of the nearness of death, which was characteristic of the close of the Middle Ages,¹ played a prominent part in the life of Martin Luther (1483–1546). As a university student, he was so frightened by his accidental fall on a dagger, which cut into an artery of his leg, that he cried out, "Help, dear Saint Anne, and I will become a monk!" Later, while in an Augustinian monastery, he came to an understanding of the Christian faith that set him at variance with the Church leaders of his day and caused him to be charged with heresy. As a result, he was summoned to appear for a hearing before the Diet, or parliamentary body of the Empire; others reminded him of the similar summons which, a century earlier, had called John Huss to his death at the stake. Luther was condemned at the Diet of Worms and was declared an outlaw of the Empire. The Emperor's edict, addressed to his subjects, read in part: "We strictly order that . . . you shall refuse to give the aforesaid Martin Luther hospitality, lodging, food, or drink; neither shall anyone by word or deed, secretly or openly, succor or assist him by counsel or help; but in whatever place you meet him you shall take him prisoner and keep him in close custody. . . ." ² Under the shadow of this ban Luther lived all his remaining days. In addition, a series of illnesses repeatedly brought him to the brink of the grave. His life was also se-

riously threatened, again and again, by persons who had a grudge against him.

There is little wonder that, in his thoughts and writings, Luther returned again and again to the subject of death. He mourned the loss of deceased friends and comforted others who lost loved ones. He assured mourners that there was a proper place for grief, and he told sick people that their fear of death was natural. "Christians could easily suffer death if they didn't know that God's wrath is connected with it," he once said. "This circumstance makes death a bitter thing for us. The heathen, on the contrary, die confidently; they don't see God's wrath but think death is the end of man."³

The last years of Luther's own life were marked by a variety of ailments and by consequent irritability. He suffered from kidney stones, pains in the chest, constipation, headaches, ringing in the ears, dizziness, and the like. There were rumors of his death years before he died (in one case he wrote a humorous response to a premature announcement), and these rumors were probably based on reports of his actual condition as well as on wishful thinking.⁴ "My head is sometimes weak," he wrote in a letter on March 30, 1544, "for it is old, and age brings with it senility, frigidity, deformity, sickness, and weakness. . . . I have lived long enough. God grant me a blessed end."⁵ When he celebrated his birthday for the last time on November 10, 1545, he said correctly that he would not last until Easter. On January 17, 1546, he wrote to his friend Jacob Probst, "I am writing to you, my dear Jacob, as an old, worn-out, dull, weary man who in addition is now one-eyed" (presumably because of a temporary affliction in his other eye).⁶

It was when he was thus physically weak and racked with pain that he received an urgent request to travel once again to his native county, Mansfeld, to act as a mediator or arbitrator in a dispute among the Counts of Mansfeld. In the hope of settling the matter once and for all, Luther set out from

Wittenberg on January 23, 1546, accompanied by his three sons and his secretary, John Aurifaber, who took notes on almost everything that happened. The weather was unpleasant and cold. The travelers were delayed by flooding rivers whose swift current carried large pieces of ice downstream. The crossing of such waters was patently dangerous. As the company approached Eisleben, the little town in which he had been born, Luther walked alongside a wagon for a stretch, but he stopped walking when he was assailed by vertigo and shortness of breath. Nevertheless, he recovered quickly and was able to preach in Eisleben a couple of days later. In fact, he preached three more times during the two weeks that followed. Besides engaging in the worrisome negotiations with the quarreling noblemen and their lawyers, Luther participated in the ordination of two men, carried on some correspondence, and wrote on the flyleaf of a visitor's book the words which were apparently much on his mind, "if any one keeps my words, he will never see death" (John 8:51).

Every day Luther, his sons, and Aurifaber ate with Justus Jonas (a trusted friend and learned colleague who had joined the travelers en route and stayed with them in Eisleben) and Michael Coelius (pastor of a church in Eisleben). "Here we are eating and drinking like lords," Luther wrote cheerfully to his wife.⁷ She wrote that she was concerned about his health, and Luther tried to reassure her with his customary mingling of earnestness and humor: "You are worrying in God's stead as if he were not almighty. . . . Thank you most heartily for your great anxiety which keeps you from sleeping. . . . I beg you to pray and leave the worrying to God. You are not commanded to worry about me or yourself. It is written, 'Cast your burden on the Lord, and he will sustain you.'"⁸ Actually Luther did not feel so well as his letters suggested. Several physicians were called in to minister to him, he used a variety of medications which they or his friends supplied, and when he retired

for the night his covers were warmed in order to counteract the chills he felt.

The negotiations with the noblemen and their lawyers came to a successful conclusion on February 16. It was on this day that Luther jotted down the last lines he was to write in this life, lines written on a piece of paper and found in his room after his death:

Nobody can understand Vergil in his *Bucolics* and *Georgics* unless he has first been a shepherd or a farmer for five years.

Nobody understands Cicero in his letters unless he has been engaged in public affairs of some consequence for twenty years.

Let nobody suppose that he has tasted the Holy Scriptures sufficiently unless he has ruled over the churches with the prophets for a hundred years. . . .

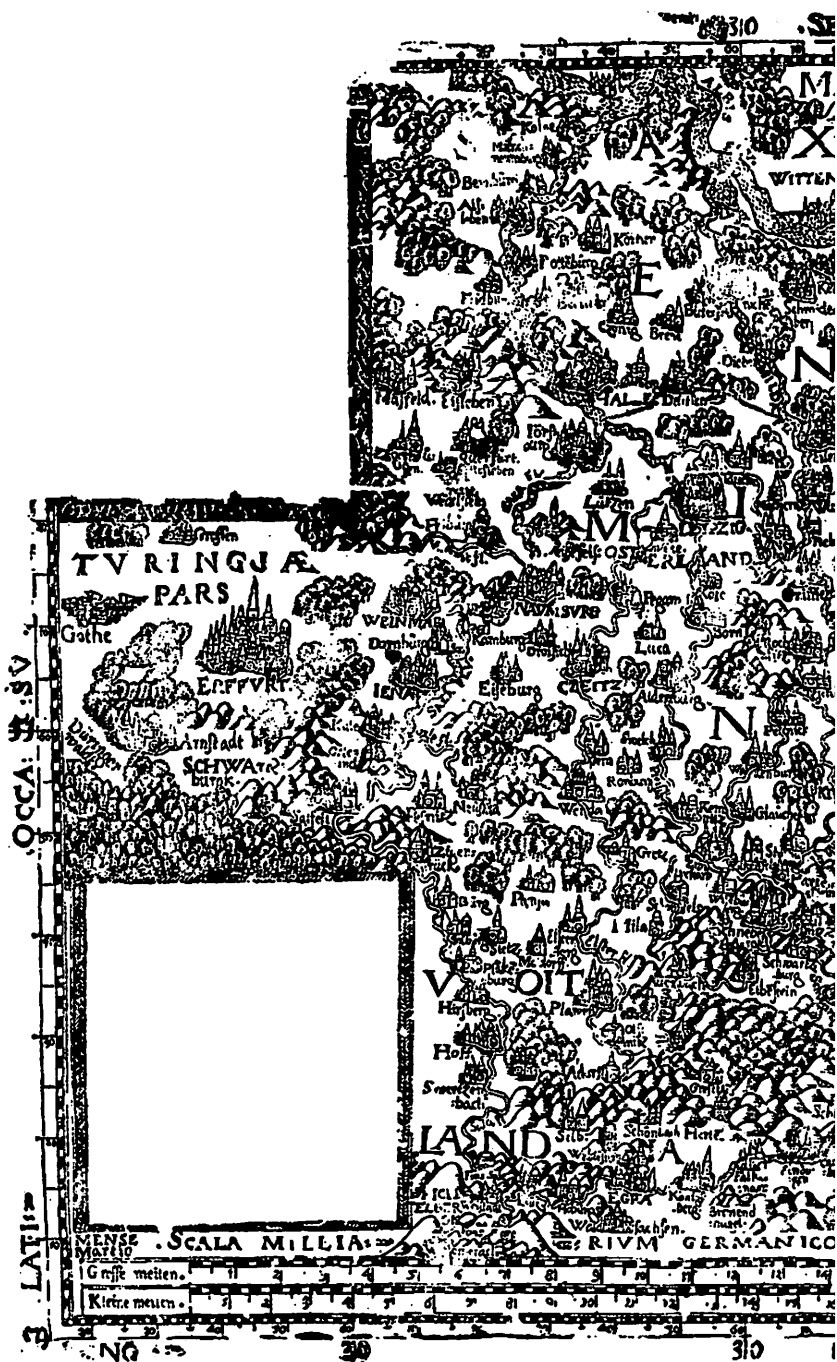
"We are beggars. That is true."⁹

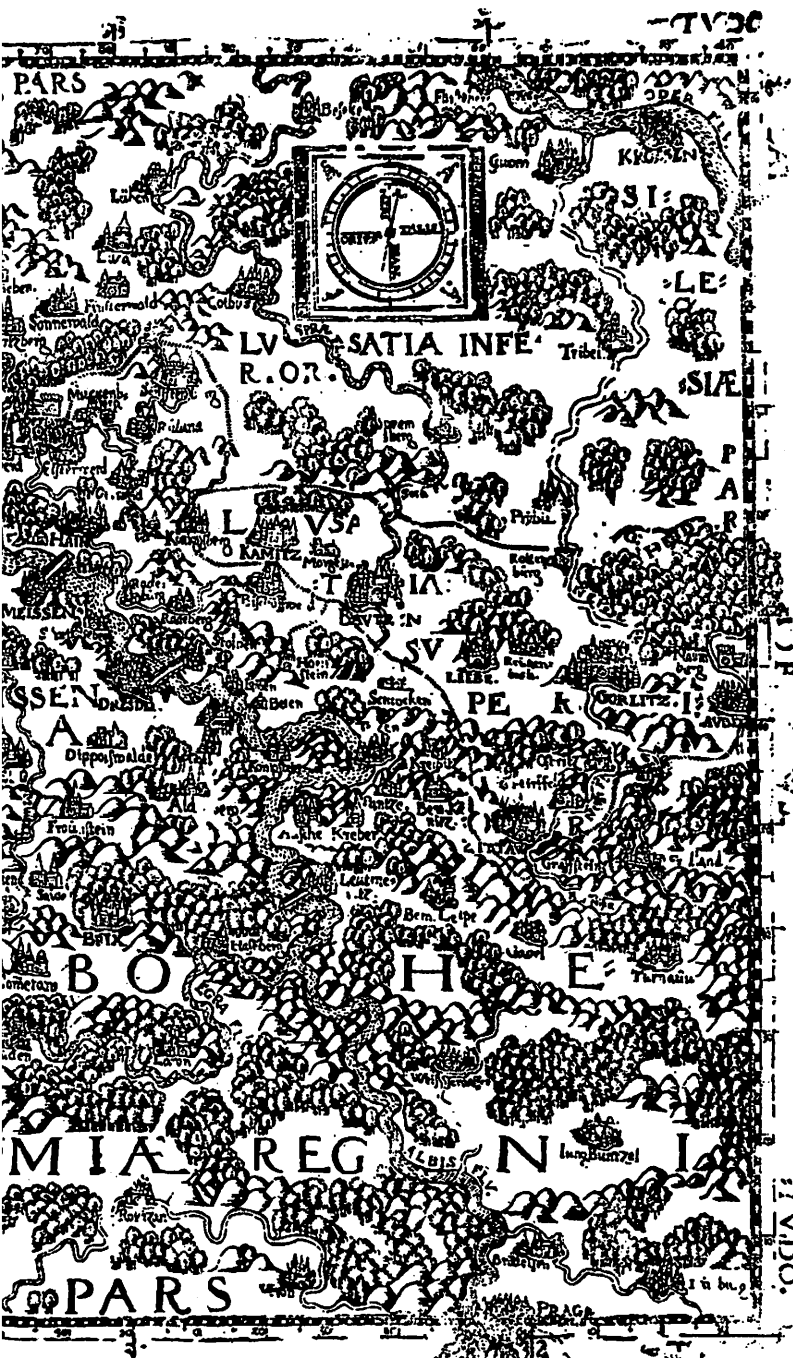
With his mission in Eisleben accomplished, Luther was exhausted. He had recurrent pains in his chest and broke out in a cold sweat. Occasionally he sank into a deep sleep. When he stirred again he spoke quietly with Jonas, Coelius, and others. He prayed often, sometimes by himself and sometimes with those who were attending him, and he employed the medieval forms for the commendation of the dying which he had learned long ago and which included a repetition of the words, "into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke 23:46). Early in the morning of February 17 his life ebbed away with a sigh.

Notes

- ¹ Cf. J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1924), pp. 124–135.
- ² Hans J. Hillerbrand, *The Reformation: A Narrative History Related by Contemporary Observers* (New York, 1964), p. 99.
- ³ "Table Talk," translated by Theodore G. Tappert, in Helmut T. Lehmann, ed., *Luther's Works*, vol. 54 (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 190.
- ⁴ "An Italian Lie Concerning Dr. Martin Luther's Death," translated by Lewis W. Spitz, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 34 (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 361–366; "Table Talk," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 54, p. 190.
- ⁵ Theodore G. Tappert, ed., *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, vol. XVIII of the Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 104.
- ⁶ *Dr. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefwechsel*, 13 volumes (Weimar, 1930–1968), vol. XI, p. 263.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 300.
- ⁸ Tappert, ed., *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, pp. 105–108.
- ⁹ "Table Talk," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 54, p. 476.

The map on the following pages is one of the oldest printed maps in Western civilization. The drawing, from which a woodcut was made, was executed in March 1568 by Bartholomäus Scultetus (1540–1614). Born at Görlitz but a master at Wittenberg University at the time he drew this map, he lectured on astronomy and mathematics. The identity of the craftsman who transferred the Scultetus drawing onto wood is not known; some experts believe that the cut was made in Scultetus' native Görlitz, where the woodcut is on deposit at the Milich Library. Our reproduction is based on a print from the original woodcut made at a later, unspecified date. The two empty spaces presumably contained the name of the map maker, the subject of his drawing, and explanatory geographic details.





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Only Thirty-one Days

Martin Ebon

The chronicle presented in this volume covers thirty-one days in the life, the death, and burial of Dr. Martin Luther, the man who changed the mainstream of Christianity in Western civilization. The reader will find, on the following pages, a facsimile reproduction of the sixteenth-century text narrating these eventful days, together with a modern English translation.

The account of Luther's last days, printed less than a month after his death, provides a rare example of primary historical documentation; the rest of the book offers supplementary information, designed to place this contemporary chronicle into the historical context of Luther's life and work.

The full title of the report is: "Concerning the Christian Departure from this Mortal Life of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther." It was written by three close associates of Luther: Dr. Justus Jonas, Master Michael Coelius, and John Aurifaber. Their account was first published, in pamphlet form, at Wittenberg in March 1546. Publication was hurried, in accordance with a request from Luther's benefactor, the Elector John Frederick of Saxony. The main reason for this haste was given by Coelius within a day of Luther's death. He told a church audience during a funeral oration that slanderous rumors about Luther's last hours were already making the rounds; as a matter of fact, such sensation-mongering continued for centuries, and it makes this primary document doubly significant.

Master Coelius, in his oration, made a special point of sum-

marizing Luther's last days, stating that he wanted to arrest all rumors: "Although he has not yet been buried, and has been dead no more than one day, people can be found, driven by the evil spirit, who suggest that he was found dead in his bed." Actually, the rumors which eventually found their way into print, ranged from the allegation that Luther had committed suicide by hanging to the assertion that he had died from the aftereffects of excessive food and drink. Luther never disguised the fact that, at times, he had been subject to severe self-doubts and melancholia, nor that he enjoyed the pleasures of the table. Yet there can be no doubt, in retrospect, that this contemporary account of his last days, known as the *Historia*, accurately reflects the events that took place.

The narrative is written with as much detachment as participants can be expected to maintain. It is filled with detail, put down with reportorial accuracy; it conveys, with an impact that is retained over more than four centuries, the emotional atmosphere surrounding Luther's death, the interplay of personalities, and a general air of awe and desperation. Who were the men who compiled this record of a crucial historic event, the death of this charismatic and controversial man, Martin Luther?

The reader will find detailed summaries of their lives in the Biographical Notes on pages 35–42. But, before reading the actual text, he may want to know the main points of their lives. Dr. Justus Jonas was one of the prime movers of the Reformation in Europe. His training had been in jurisprudence and classical languages, and he had aided Luther in his translations of the Bible as well as in disputes and negotiations. At the time of Luther's fatal journey from Wittenberg to Eisleben, Jonas served as superintendent of churches in the city of Halle, and Luther stayed at his house for several days en route. Michael Coelius was an educator who, in mid-career, became a clergyman whose work was dedicated to Luther. At the time of his

death, Coelius was pastor to Count Albrecht von Mansfeld, whose family had invited Luther to help heal an internal dispute. John Aurifaber had been a tutor with the Mansfeld family for some fourteen years. He served Luther as companion-secretary during the year before his death and accompanied him on his final journey.

Obviously, these three coauthors were strong Luther partisans, and their *Historia* must, therefore, be regarded as more or less official. But they clearly sought to achieve objectivity. They made a point, for instance, of showing that the counts of Mansfeld had bowed to the desire of the Elector of Saxony to have Luther buried in Wittenberg. Jonas must be regarded as the main author, not only because of his greater experience as a writer and general seniority, but also because the text reflects his style and manner of approach.

The account begins with Luther's departure from Wittenberg on January 23, 1546, notes his stopover in Halle because of floods, describes attacks of illness on the way to Eisleben and his stay in that city. Following a detailed description of efforts to prolong his life and of his death in the early morning hours of February 18, the report concludes with the funeral at Wittenberg on February 22. The chronicle is remarkably unembellished and factual, although the narrative carries strong emotional impact. What could not be conveyed, of course, were some of the volcanic rumblings, the undercurrent of conflict and frustration that began even before Luther's fateful trip from Wittenberg to Eisleben.

On the previous November 10, Luther had celebrated his sixty-third birthday. He had grown irritated with the state of affairs at Wittenberg: the university's students had become unruly; his parishioners at the Castle Church were often so inattentive that he had once walked out on them; the Elector John Frederick, a staunch Luther supporter, was an erratic and abrasive man, given to drinking bouts; the counts of Mansfeld,

although linked to Luther by mutual affection, annoyed him with the interminable quarrels over property, privileges, and responsibilities in their domain. Before going on this final conciliation trip, Luther had twice tried to mediate the Mansfelds' differences: he visited them during the first week of October 1545, accompanied by Dr. Jonas and Philip Melancthon, and he tried again during the Christmas holidays from December 22 to January 7, 1546; both times he was unsuccessful.

Now, as the chronicle notes, Luther was going to Eisleben once again, despite misgivings, irritation, and weakened health. The journey is a picture of Luther in microcosm. He is alternately cantankerous, humble, good-humored, flamboyant, and masterful. If men die the way they live, the last days of Luther reflect this man's total humanity: a panorama of moods and public display, from bombast to prayer, from despair over man's fate on earth to delight in youthful sleigh riders. He compares a flooded river with the threat of a second baptism; he blames the Devil himself for the dangers of travel; he rants about the drawn-out bargaining among the Mansfelds; he is pleased to send some choice trout to his wife, Kate; two regional beers have his special approval.

When the icy waters of the Saale River interrupt his journey, Luther writes Kate, on January 25: "We have run into an Anabaptist with high waves and floats of ice, who threatens to baptize us all over again; we could not turn back, because the Mulde [River, which was also cresting] traps us between two bodies of water. Not that we are thirsty enough to sample the waters; we prefer the solid Torgau beer and the good Rhine wine to provide strength and comfort, while the Saale continues to rant." In his typically playful fashion, he addresses his letter "To my kindly, beloved Kate, Brewmistress, Lady of the Pig Market at Wittenberg." Among Kate's numerous domestic skills was the ability to brew beer. She also raised pigs,

and maintained a vegetable garden adjacent to the town's pig market.

The next day, during a sermon in Halle, Luther reiterates his theological views in strong terms, urging the town to rid itself of the remaining monastic orders. And he tells his traveling companions, with a premonition of death, "Here we eat and drink together in good fellowship, but the time is nearing when we shall die. I am on my way to Mansfeld to reconcile the counts, whose minds I know so well. When Christ reconciled the world of God, he received his reward in the death he suffered. God grant that I may share this experience."

The traveling party, which includes Luther's three young sons, crosses the river at Castle Giebichenstein. Before reaching Eisleben, however, Luther suffers an attack of dizziness in the village of Rissdorf. He writes Kate on January 30 that he had walked a bit, become overheated, and in the coach "was struck by such a chill from the back, through my cap, that my brain nearly turned to ice." He assures Kate that he has recovered and merely suffers from "the resistance of the beautiful ladies, which prevents me from worry or fear about my virtue."

Once the negotiations begin in Eisleben, Luther quickly becomes impatient. He writes Kate on February 6: "Here we sit and permit ourselves to be tortured. We'd like to get away, but I think it will take at least another eight days." He also tells his wife: "We thought we had found a way out, but Satan blocked us again. We tried a second way, thought we had achieved our aim, but Satan stopped us once more. We have now set foot on a third road, which seems solid and promising, but we have to wait and see where it will lead us."

Desperate with the slow pace of the negotiations, Luther even considers a tactical subterfuge: if he were called away, he calculates, the feuding parties might be panicked into coming to terms quickly. He even asks Kate to reach the elector

through an intermediary, so that he will "send for me on urgent business. Perhaps this will be a way of speeding up the settlement. I think that they will not let me leave before coming to a final arrangement. I will give them just the rest of the week, and then I will threaten them with the elector's letter." He did not have to resort to this trick, but his patience was tried for a few extra days.

One day after his letter suggesting the stage-managed speed-up, Luther wrote Kate, on February 7, "Now I've become a lawyer. But it will do them no good. It would be better if they let me remain a theologian. If I come among them, should I live, I'd like to become a Poltergeist [noisy, fright-inducing ghost] so that their pride would be squeezed out of them through God's mercy. Dear Kate, read the Little Catechism, of which you have said that I told in it all that is necessary. You are taking on God's troubles as if he were not almighty, while he can create ten Doctor Martins, should the old man drown in the Saale or perish in an oven. . . . The country wine here is good, and the Naumburg beer very good. I only fear that it creates phlegm in my chest, because of its dryness. The Devil has ruined the world's beer with dry dust, and the wines with brimstone."

Luther's account of his illness during the trip to Eisleben had upset Kate, and she sent him a wifely letter, full of urgings to look after himself. His reply on February 10 reflects irritation, affection, and good-humored teasing. Using the first personal plural to refer to himself, he writes: "We thank you cordially for your worry, which has kept you from sleep." He says that her fretting had caused several near accidents: "As you worried so much, a fire just outside my room tried to consume me, and yesterday, doubtless prompted by the power of your concern, a stone fell on us." He adds that clay had been raining down on him from the ceiling of his room, threatening him within his own bed, "like in a mousetrap." When the dan-

gerous stone was removed, it turned out to be "as long as a pillow and as wide as two hands." He warns Kate that, if she does not stop fretting, "the earth will open and swallow us." Luther assures her that all members of his party are "well and cheerful," although Dr. Jonas has bumped his thigh against a drawer. "Such," he writes, "is the jealousy of those who won't even permit me to have a sore thigh all to myself."

At last, on the fourteenth, the counts of Mansfeld agree to a settlement. Luther writes Kate that until then the counts had only "faced each other, mute, embittering themselves with written communications." Now, he hopes to bring them together, "to be brothers once more, and, as my guests, start to talk to each other." Otherwise, the young counts are now quite cheerful. Liberated from the conference room, they take their womenfolk on sleigh rides, bells ringing joyfully down the road. Luther sends Kate several trout, a present from the Countess Albrecht, who is "heartfelt in her gratitude about the new unity." Luther, too, is obviously immensely pleased; he signs his letter in a manner that may well be translated as "Martin Luther, your old sweetheart. [Martin Luther, dein alt Liebchen.]"

The Mansfeld settlement is formalized in several documents. One contract, dated the sixteenth, defines the positions, responsibilities, and properties of the Counts Gebhart, Albrecht, Philip, and John-George. The document, signed by Luther and Jonas, covers the counts' roles in the administration and financial support of various establishments, including the church, school, and hospital at Eisleben, and generally in the Mansfeld domain.

While the talks went on, Luther lived in the house occupied by the town clerk, John Albrecht. This house was the property of the Eisleben town council, which had shortly before bought it from a local lawyer, Philip Drachstet. The discussions with the Mansfeld counts took place in the building's large ground

floor dining room. Luther's living quarters, his bedroom and study, were on the second floor.

In 1909, an unsigned report on Luther's death, possibly written by the town clerk Albrecht, was found at the Krauth Memorial Library, Mount Airy, Pennsylvania. The report's main points coincided with the accounts in this volume. Adolf Spaeth, writing in *The Lutheran Church Review* (vol. 19, 1910), noted that the anonymous report quotes Luther as having written on a wall in the Eisleben house, "We cannot do what everyone will / But we can do what we will." According to this source, Luther wrote the aphorism thirteen days before his death. Dr. Spaeth concluded that the unsigned report was drafted by an eyewitness. Although the handwriting could never be specifically identified as that of John Albrecht, its meticulous calligraphy points toward someone whose profession might have been that of town scribe, or town recorder. The Director of the Museums and Luther Memorials of Eisleben, Dr. K. Lindner, advised the editor of this volume on January 28, 1970 that "comparison of the overall graphic image of the report with contemporary entries in the town chronicle" makes it "impossible to deny similarity."

The Jonas-Coelius-Aurifaber report states that two artists painted Luther shortly after his death. One artist was merely identified as "from Eisleben," the other as Lucas Furtenagel of Halle. These paintings are a mystery for art historians. Two such drawings are in existence. One bears the characteristic signature symbol, the other the initials of the prominent Reformation painter and Luther friend Lucas Cranach. Dr. Reinhold Behrens, Director of the State Gallery of Lower Saxony, confirmed in a letter of December 18, 1969, that such a painting, titled "Luther on his Deathbed" and attributed to Cranach, is located at the Municipal Gallery at Hanover. The artist "from Eisleben" has never been identified; he may have been an itinerant painter, or a court artist of the Mansfeld family.

He may also have been a Cranach assistant, who prepared a draft from which the master fashioned a "definitive" drawing of Luther in death. The Reverend Horst Koehn, pastor of the Church of Our Lady at Halle, advised the editor of this volume (December 30, 1969) that the church retains custody of a death mask and imprints of Luther's hands, fashioned at Eisleben during the early morning of February 19, 1546. These wax imprints are being kept in the Church's sacristy, where Luther's body remained for one night. According to the Rev. Koehn, the imprints were also made by Furtenagel, whom he describes as "a member of the intellectual circle that centered around Justus Jonas." The ultimate authenticity and origin of the death bed images of Luther will, however, remain an unsolved riddle for art historians.

Eisleben was a mining town before Luther's birth, and it remains so to this day. Copper mining began about 1300. The town is now part of East Germany (German Democratic Republic). In 1961, Eisleben celebrated its one-thousandth anniversary. The name and tradition of the Mansfeld family continued, and the mining enterprises were operated, in the recent past, by the Mansfeld Corporation. Visitors to the town may stay at the "Hotel Mansfeld," and the municipality refers to Eisleben as "The Luther Town." Saint Andrews Church, Eisleben, where Luther gave a number of sermons during his stay, and where Jonas and Coelius delivered their orations in his memory, is said to be as old as the town, although, of course, it has undergone several restorations.

Additional funeral orations were given at the Castle Church in Wittenberg, and these are mentioned in the *Historia*. Three associates of Luther spoke in the church: Philip Melancthon, John Bugenhagen (known as Dr. Pomeranus), and Caspar Cruciger. They were men of varied careers and achievements, all of them deeply influenced by Luther's teachings and personality. More detail can be found in the Biographical Notes.

As noted before, the funeral oration by Coelius reflected deep concern over rumors regarding the circumstances of Luther's death. Coelius, speaking at the Eisleben church, observed that there had also been misgivings about the wisdom of Luther's strenuous journey: "An old man should not have made such a cross-country trip, at this time of year and in such cold weather; one should have saved him the trouble of being involved in negotiations; if he had stayed in Wittenberg, and had looked after himself, this way or that, he might still be alive. . . ." While such speculations were understandable enough, Coelius said, they could lead nowhere but "into emotions like those of an angry sea in the wintertime, and we should never see the end of the arguments."

Coelius recalled that Luther's death had not been unexpected, as "it did not begin simply during the previous night," and Luther had been "dying for a whole year, dealt with thoughts of death, given sermons about death, spoken of death, written of death." Actually, he had been concerned with his death a good deal longer than that. Even when Luther married Kate, some two decades earlier, he remarked that he wanted to be "wedded before I die." Coelius mentioned that Luther had "prayed to God that he might die without prolonged agony; he regarded himself as an old, worn-out, and weak man, who had often said: I shall not live much longer."

Luther's friends' concern over rumors about his death were justified. In fact, slanderous assertions, by word of mouth and in print, continued into the nineteenth century. The time of Luther was a period of rugged give-and-take, from pulpits, at street corners, in pamphlets and leaflets. Accusations and counteraccusations inflamed the public. Often enough, Luther himself practiced hyperbole and vituperation. As we know from our own time, despite virtually instantaneous news transmission, television, and daily newspapers, the death of a leading personality can remain clouded in rumor and speculation

for years. Is it any wonder that, in the emotional climate of the day, it could even be whispered that the Devil himself had come to carry Luther off?

Death of a leading personality provokes legend-making. But not only antagonists stand ready to detract or embellish; protagonists also are prone to manipulation, adding a bit here, subtracting a bit there. In Luther's case, this process began within hours of his death, in a letter Justus Jonas wrote, that very night, to the Elector John Frederick of Saxony. The letter contained a narrative of deathbed events, as well as suggestions for the funeral ceremonies. Jonas dictated it to a secretary of Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, corrected it, and then sent the final version by special rider to the elector at Torgau. Jonas dated his letter, "Eisleben, Thursday after Valentine, 4 A.M., February 18, 1546." We may assume that Luther died shortly before three o'clock, Jonas began his letter to the elector at four, and finished it around five o'clock.

Even this immediate on-the-scene account was subject, no matter how subconsciously, to the kind of self-censorship that subtly affects virtually all historical recording. Presumably for reasons of dignity and good taste, Jonas cut one of Luther's earthy remarks from the version he eventually sent to the elector. In his first draft he quoted Luther as referring to the Mansfeld dispute, saying, "Once I shall have conciliated my dear lords, the counts, and, with God's will, have completed my journey, I shall return home, put myself into a coffin, and let the worms devour a good, fat Doctor." Jonas not only eliminated this remark from the letter; as the reader will see, the later, printed account also does not contain it.

Relatively more significant deletions, and additions, can be found in a contemporary English translation of the Wittenberg pamphlet, prepared by a Reformation partisan, John Bale. Forced to flee England, and settle in Germany, Bale translated a number of documents. He took considerable liberties in his

translation of the *Historia*, eliminating several passages and even adding others. He amplified prayers attributed to Luther and left out details of the funeral. Bale retained the oath-like concluding statement by the authors, testifying to the accuracy of the document, but where the original had simply cited Luther as referring to the Council of Trent, without any adjective, Bale made it the "wycked" Council. Bale's English version, printed in Germany—the type is that used by the printer Hans Lufft, Marburg—was probably paid for by the Elector of Saxony; the cover bears his coat of arms. Bale eliminated the observation that the counts of Mansfeld would have liked to see Luther buried in Eisleben, but bowed to the Elector when he ordered him brought to Wittenberg.

The Elector's insistence was a matter of concern to Jonas as well as to the counts of Mansfeld. John Frederick replied to Jonas' report on Luther's death, and his reply reached Jonas at 8 P.M. on February 19. Jonas acknowledged the Elector's letter immediately, so that the rider could leave for Torgau within an hour. He acknowledged John Frederick's "wish to have the body of our late beloved father" taken from Eisleben to Wittenberg, noting that the Elector had "ordered" this arrangement to be carried out. The Mansfeld counts wrote to the elector that same day, stating that "regardless of the fact that we would have liked to retain the body in our domain," they would show their "obedience" by seeing to it that the funeral procession arrived in Bitterfeld, on the way to Wittenberg, the following Sunday at noon.

Luther's death was dramatic and traumatic, as if a giant tree had crashed to earth. The mourners on the road from Eisleben, where he had been born and where he had died, to Wittenberg, where he had fought many theologic-political battles, expressed the despair that comes with the realization that the death of man can symbolize the end of an era. Melancthon said in his funeral oration that Luther's death had left his fol-

lowers "as orphans, deprived of their father." Actually, he died, after his influence had passed its peak, on the verge of temporary reverses for his cause. The year after Luther's death, the Protestant League of Smalcald (Schmalkalden) which he had sponsored suffered a severe defeat at the hands of troops under Emperor Charles V. But ten years later, in 1556, the emperor abdicated and went to Spain, where he died in a monastery, while the German princes assumed the right to regulate the churches in their territories, as Luther had envisaged.

The last days of Luther provide an historic vignette, for which this volume seeks to create a modern frame. The translation is designed to bridge the gap of language, as well as of time and style, while reflecting as faithfully as possible the character of the original. The edition on which our reproduction is based was printed at Wittenberg in March 1546, some three weeks after Luther's death. Later that year, additional printings took place in Frankfurt-on-Main and Nuremberg; a still later edition appeared in Jena, in 1618. The copy from which our reproduction was made, printed in Wittenberg by George Rhau, is in the possession of The British Museum, London. Rhau had been a musicologist, first in Leipzig and later in Eisleben, before he became a printer in Wittenberg, where his brother was deacon of the town church.

In our facsimile reproduction, isolated spelling errors in the Latin quotations have, of course, remained uncorrected. The number of horses that brought the Count of Mansfeld to the Wittenberg funeral is first given as xlv and later, in an obvious transposition of numerals, as lxv; we have used the first figure in our translation, in both instances, for the sake of consistency.

The account of last-minute efforts to prolong Luther's life contains a medical oddity: Count Albrecht of Mansfeld brings "Unicorn," powders it, and Luther drinks it, diluted in wine. According to Dr. Félix Martí-Ibáñez, medical historian and

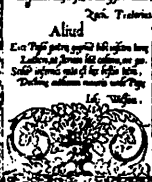
publisher of the magazine *MD*, New York, the "unicorn's horn was an important drug as late as the seventeenth century, and it was even listed in the *British Pharmacopoeia*." Dr. Martí-Ibáñez adds, "The powder was obtained by scraping the inside of the horn, and it was prescribed as a specific against poisons and the plague, as well as for such complaints as fever and fluxes. The horn itself could be worn as an amulet, and it was widely believed that a poisoned liquid, after standing in a cup made from the horn could be drunk without harm. Some of the amulets and cups have been preserved, and modern scholars have discovered that they are from the tusk of the narwhal." This Arctic whale resembles a shark. In the male, a hollow, elongated single tusk, extends forward from the head, straight out, like a horn.

For additional data, the reader's attention is drawn to the two Chronologies, the Biographical Notes and the Bibliography, which lists primary source material as well as selected supplementary literature.

The editor of this volume is indebted to a number of authorities and institutions for suggestions and source material; these include, notably, the Lutheran Theological Seminary of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the Foundation for Reformation Research, St. Louis, Missouri; the Rare Book Division and Map Room, the New York Public Library, New York; the Department of Printed Books, the British Museum, London; the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; the Concordia Seminary Library, St. Louis, Missouri; in Germany: the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg; Universitätsbibliothek, Freie Universität Berlin; Staatsbibliothek, Marburg; Research Institute for Late Medieval and Reformation History, Universität Tübingen; Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hanover; the Evangelisches Pfarramt, Church of Our Lady, Halle; Direktorat of the Mu-

seums and Luther Memorials, Eisleben; Universität Hamburg, Seminary on History of Church and Dogma; Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Institut für Kirchengeschichte, Karl-Marx-Universität, Leipzig.

Entitled *Mansfeldici Comitatus typus chorographicus*, the map on the following pages was drawn by Tilemann Stella (1524–1589), a native of Siegen. The artist, an engineer and specialist in hydraulics, lived in Wittenberg from 1557 to 1560, and this map of the Mansfeld area was presumably prepared during that period. At the same time, Stella published a book on map reading, a *Brief and Clear Report on the Practice and Use of the New Land Maps* (*Kurtzer und klarer Bericht vom Gebrauch und Nutz der neuen Landtaffeln*; Wittenberg, 1560). The copper engraving was made in Jena, where it was printed in 1571 with a dedication to the counts of Mansfeld. The Latin verse was written by Zacharias Prätorius, Dean of Saint Andrews Church in Eisleben, the town where Martin Luther was born and died.





Biographical Notes

The men and women who surrounded Luther during his last days, those who led the funeral procession and spoke in his memory, were part of the closely knit group on whom he exerted a magnet-like force during his lifetime. They included his immediate family, his travel companions and authors of the account of his final journey, the aristocratic leaders with whom he was linked for ideological and political reasons, as well as individuals who crossed his path more or less by accident.

These Notes should serve to supplement the material on the preceding pages. Let us begin with the three coauthors of the *Historia*, all of whom were indebted to Luther for the pattern of their lives. *Justus Jonas*, one of the prime movers of the Reformation, excelled in the fluency and precision of his writings and translations, as well as in sermons and other talks. Law and philosophy were his early interests. He was born Jobst Koch on June 5, 1493, at Nordhausen (Thuringia) and gained his baccalaureate at Erfurt in 1510. He showed an early interest in the then-popular concepts of Humanism.

Jonas first settled in Wittenberg in 1511, but returned to Erfurt four years later; he became Rector of the local University in 1519. Latin, jurisprudence, and biblical studies were his main subjects. It was in 1519 that Luther presented his views in a dramatic dispute with John Eck in Leipzig. Jonas was deeply impressed by Luther's arguments, and two years later accompanied him during his appearance before the Diet (Parliament) at Worms. The Elector of Saxony appointed Jonas professor of theology at Wittenberg University. When, shortly

afterwards, Luther spent nearly a year in self-exile at Wartburg Castle, Jonas actively worked on his behalf in Wittenberg.

Justus Jonas became superintendent of churches at Halle in 1541 or 1542, and he lived there when Luther passed through the town on his last journey in 1546. After Luther's death, following the military defeat of the Elector of Saxony and the Protestant League of Smalcald, Jonas was banished from Halle. He followed the Elector into exile, became Court pastor at Coburg in 1551 and Superintendent of churches in Eisleben on the Werra in 1553. He died there on October 9, 1555.

The second author of the chronicle of Luther's last days, *Michael Coelius*, was the son of a baker, Paul Czölz. He was born on September 7, 1492, at Döbeln, went to Leipzig in 1509 to attend the university, and returned to his hometown three years later to teach at the city school. Four years later, at the age of twenty-four, he became the school's principal. Coelius chose to become a clergyman in 1518. He first served as pastor in Grimnitz, later in Rochlitz. Like Justus Jonas, Coelius witnessed Luther during the Leipzig debate and decided to settle in Wittenberg. His stay there was interrupted when he took a pastoral post in a small Bohemian town. However, his Lutheran leanings became known, and he was forced to return to Wittenberg in 1524.

On Luther's recommendation, Michael Coelius became castle preacher to Count Albrecht of Mansfeld in 1525. He remained at this post for many years, being named deacon in 1545. Following Luther's death, he became town pastor of Mansfeld in 1548, and he died there on December 13, 1559.

John Aurifaber was known with the addition of "*Vinariensis*" to his name, which showed that he came from Weimar and differentiated him from two other prominent men of the same name. His family name had been Goldschmied, and he was born, probably in Mansfeld, in 1519. He began studies at Wittenberg University in 1537 and was quickly attracted to

Luther's teachings and entourage. Through Luther's good offices, Aurifaber became a tutor in the family of the Mansfeld counts from 1540 to 1544. The next year he served as chaplain to the forces fighting against France and later moved in with the Luther family, acting as Martin Luther's companion-secretary.

After Luther's death, Aurifaber acted as a chaplain with the Protestant League during the Smalcald war. In 1550 he became pastor at the Weimar Court, and he participated prominently in the political-philosophical controversies that followed. After some ten years in Weimar, he was forced to give up his post, and settled at Eisleben in 1561. Aurifaber became a prolific editor of Lutheriana, notably of Luther's *Tischreden* (*Table Talk*). Church historians have questioned the accuracy of some of these often quite pungent, recollected remarks. He died in Erfurt on November 18, 1575.

Luther's immediate family included his wife, Katherine, who attended the funeral and rode prominently in the procession, as well as his three sons, who had accompanied him on the trip from Wittenberg to Eisleben. *Katherine Luther* combined strength of personality with tolerance of her willful and often erratic husband. Around Easter, 1523, a group of nuns escaped or were kidnaped from the Nimschen cloister near Wittenberg, and nine of them took refuge in the town. Husbands were found for most of them, but one, Katherine of Bora, refused to marry a hand-picked groom, Dr. Caspar Glatz. Luther married her on May 27, 1525. He called her Käte, which may be translated as Kate or Kathie. Occasionally, with a play on words, Luther called her his "Kette," which means "chain." As the tenor of his last letters to Kate suggest, twenty years of married life resulted in a deep attachment.

The Luthers had six children. Among the boys who accompanied Luther on the trip to Eisleben was *Hans*, then nineteen years old, born June 7, 1526. He was named after Hans, or

John, Bugenhagen, a close friend who gave one of the funeral sermons at the Wittenberg Castle Church (see below). Hans studied law at Weimar, but his career was undistinguished; the Elector of Saxony provided him with a sinecure, and he was given a similar position later by the Duke of Prussia. Hans Luther married the only daughter of Caspar Cruziger, another close friend of the family (see below).

Martin, the second son, born November 9, 1531, was fourteen years old during the fateful journey. He, too, faded within the shadow of the father whose name he inherited. Although he studied theology, Martin did not become a practicing cleric. His younger brother, *Paul*, was the most prominent of Martin Luther's three sons. Born on January 28, 1533, Paul celebrated his thirteenth birthday during the Eisleben journey. He became a popular court physician, practicing successively for the sons of the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, the Duke John Frederick of Gotha, and the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg. He settled at Dresden, later at Leipzig (1590) and died on March 8, 1593.

Martin and Katherine Luther had three daughters, of whom two died young. *Elizabeth*, born December 10, 1527, died on August 3, 1528. Her fate deeply affected Luther, who discovered that he seemed to have "a woman's heart, so shaken am I." The second daughter, *Magdalena*, was born on May 4, 1529. She died at thirteen, on September 20, 1542.

The third Luther daughter, *Margarethe*, was born on December 17, 1534. She married an aristocratic student at the University of Wittenberg, Georg von Kunheim, on August 5, 1555. She died in 1570, at the age of thirty-one.

The collapse of the Protestant League, a year after Luther's death, uprooted the widow and her children. Katherine Luther had, with characteristic energy, run a small farm to supplement the family's income. The Elector had given Luther the so-called Black Cloister of Wittenberg as a residence. During

his lifetime, the house was filled not only with the children, but also with more or less temporary residents. When the elector was defeated, the Luther property was vandalized or seized. Katherine Luther eventually returned to Wittenberg, and other rulers in North Germany and Scandinavia offered her refuge. However, following an accident involving her carriage, she died on December 20, 1552.

The men around Luther were well represented during the funeral procession and the ceremonies at the Castle Church at Wittenberg. Three of them spoke in his memory: Philip Melanchthon, John Bugenhagen, and Caspar Cruziger. Next to Luther himself, *Philip Melanchthon* was the most notable Reformation figure. Melanchthon came from a family named Schwarzerd, and he adopted a Hellenization of this name, which stands for "Black Earth." Born at Bretten (Baden) on February 16, 1497, he pursued a distinguished scholarly career that reflected knowledge and skills which later benefited his close collaboration with Martin Luther. Melanchthon began his studies at Heidelberg, where he obtained his B.A., and gained an M.A. degree at Tübingen. In 1518, the Elector of Saxony made him a professor of Greek at Wittenberg University.

Melanchthon's help to Luther was substantial. He edited his translations of the Bible from Latin into German, organizing and revising Luther's drafts. He was particularly helpful during and after Luther's stay at Wartburg Castle. While Luther was in self-exile at the castle, Melanchthon acted as his representative in Wittenberg. Their literary-scholarly collaboration continued after Luther's return to the university town. In 1520, Melanchthon married Katherine Krapp, and their home became a salon and clearing house for the political-theological Reformation group. The translation work and drafting of commentaries continued until 1524. The following year, Melanchthon traveled in southern Germany for health reasons. He rebuffed attempts to separate himself from Luther; in 1525 he

published an affirmation of his adherence to Luther's ideas, the *Summa doctrinae Lutheri*. He did not, however, initially approve of Luther's marriage to Katherine; on June 16, 1525, Melanchthon wrote that "the nuns have used their skills on him most successfully," and asserted that their company had "softened and even inflamed this noble and high-spirited man." However, the two families eventually developed cordial relations.

During various encounters between Luther and his antagonists, Melanchthon acted as his deputy and "ambassador." He played a leading role in drawing up the dramatic Lutheran declaration at Augsburg, the "Augsburg Confession" of 1530. Melanchthon also led delegations in talks with Roman divines and the Swiss reformer Huldreich Zwingli. At times his relatively conciliatory attitude seemed to deviate from Luther's more rigid positions.

In 1540, Melanchthon was deeply shocked by Luther's encouragement of a second marriage for Landgrave Philip of Hesse. The landgrave had sought to undo an earlier marriage, but Luther could neither endorse the type of annulment that might have been arranged in Rome, nor had divorce gained a foothold in German Protestantism at that time. Recalling the multiple marriages of Old Testament patriarchs, Luther confidentially suggested a second marriage to Philip. Rather quickly, the fact that he had, in effect, endorsed bigamy became public knowledge. The tensions caused by this event apparently caused Melanchthon to suffer a psychosomatic illness in June 1540, which forced him to take an extended bed rest.

In spite of this and other disagreements, and basic differences in temperament, Melanchthon felt the loss of Luther keenly, and he spoke with great passion at the Wittenberg funeral on February 22, 1546. He died at the same age as Luther, sixty-three, on April 19, 1560, and was buried beside him at the Castle Church.

John Bugenhagen, the second speaker at the church, was known as "Dr. Pomeranus," a reference to his home province, Pomerania, where he was born, at Willin, on June 24, 1484. He moved to Wittenberg in 1521 and was best known for his interpretations of the Old Testament, comments on the Psalms, and studies of the lives of Jeremiah and Jonah. Bugenhagen was much in demand as an organizer of Reformation congregations; he went to Hamburg in 1525, Brunswick in 1528, and Lübeck in 1530. He returned to his native Pomerania four years later. Next, he became pastor of the Town Church at Wittenberg; in effect, this made Luther one of his parishioners. At the behest of King Christian of Denmark, Bugenhagen spent two years, beginning in 1542, in Scandinavia. He died in 1558.

The third speaker at the Wittenberg funeral, *Caspar Cruziger*, was born on January 1, 1504, in Leipzig, where he attended the university at a very young age. He became rector of the Town School of Magdeburg at the age of twenty. In 1530 he went to Wittenberg, where he served as professor of theology and as pastor at the Castle Church. Luther was impressed by Cruziger's knowledge ("This man will teach theology after my death"), but occasionally exasperated by his passivity and tolerance. Cruziger died on November 16, 1548.

Prominent among those attending the funeral ceremonies was *George Brück*, also known as *Gregorius Pontanux*, chancellor at the court of the Elector John Frederick of Saxony. Brück was the most influential executive in the government of Saxony. As noted elsewhere in this volume, Luther obtained a letter from the Elector, during his talks with the counts of Mansfeld, urging him to return; the letter, which was merely a diplomatic device, had been obtained through Brück. The Chancellor's name was that of his birthplace, Brück, near Wittenberg, where he was born in 1483. He took up residence in Wittenberg, where he became a doctor of law. Brück served

at the court of the Elector Frederick of Saxony, and, after his death, with John Frederick, holding the position of Chancellor from 1520 to 1550; it is assumed that he drafted a number of state papers for the Elector, including John Frederick's letter of protest to Emperor Charles V. He quarreled with Kate, after Luther's death, because she resisted his demand that Luther's children should be taken from her and educated under official guidance. After his service in Wittenberg, Brück settled in Jena, where he died on February 20, 1557.

The chronicle of Luther's last days mentions, among the members of the funeral procession at Wittenberg, one Dr. Jeronymus. He was *Hieronimus Schurff*, a noted lawyer and member of the university faculty. Born at Saint Gallen on April 20, 1480, he had, like Luther, been an Augustinian monk. After living in Basel and Tübingen, Schurff settled at Wittenberg and served as professor of law. He later held a similar post at Frankfurt (Oder), concluding his career as superintendent of churches for the Saale area. He died on January 6, 1554.

Among those present at Luther's deathbed was *Count Hans Heinrich von Schwartzenburg-Leutenberg* (1496–1555), ruler of the county surrounding the town of Leutenberg in Thuringia; he had taken part in the negotiations between the counts of Mansfeld.



Concerning the Christian
departure from this mortal
life of the Reverend
Dr. Martin Luther

Vom Christlichen
abschied aus diesem tödlichen leben
des Ehrwürdigen Herrn D. Mar-
tini Lutheri / bericht / durch D.
Iustum Jonam M. Michael
lem Celium / vnd ander die
dabey gewesen / kurz
zusamen gezogen.

Gedruckt zu Wittenberg
durch Georgen
Rhaw.

Anno M. D. XLVI.

CONCERNING THE Christian

departure from this mortal
life of the Reverend Dr.
Martin Luther, reported
and briefly summarized
by Dr. Justus Jonas, Michael
Coelius, and
others who were
present

Printed at Wittenberg
by George
Rhau

Anno MDXLVI

Vfftrij. tag Januarij/ist aus er-
forderung/der Edelen vnd Wolgebör-
nen Grauen vnd Herrn zu Mansfeld
der Ehrwürdige Herr D. Martinus Lu-
ther von Wittemberg ausgezogen/ vnd die
erste nacht zu Bitterfeld gelegen.

Vnd ist aber die erforderung D. Doctoris
Martini von wolgedachten Grauen / aus
der ursachen geschehen / das sich zwischen
ihren gnaden viel / vnd grosse irrungen vnd
gebrechen / etliche zeit her erhalten / Daraus
der Herrschafft Mansfeld / allerley weite-
rung zubefahren gewesen / Derhalben die
Grauen samptlich D. Doctorem Marti-
num / als der aus ihrer gnaden herrschafft /
nemlich von Eisleben bürtig / gebeten / sich
mit der vnterhandlung zubeladen / vnd zu
vleißigen / sowiel möglich die sachen zunertra-
gen vnd zuuergleichen. Wiewol aber D.
Doctor Martinus / sich inn solche Weltli-
che hendel einzulassen nicht gepflegt / sonder
seines beruffs je vnd alwegen / mit predigen
lesen / schreiben / vnd andern / wie meniglich
bewußt / höchstes vleis gewartet / So hat er
A ij doch

ON THE 23rd day of January [1546], the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther left Wittenberg at the behest of the Noble Gentlewoman and Lord of Mansfeld, spending the night at Bitterfeld.

The request to Dr. Martin, on the part of the respected gentlewoman, was prompted by a number of factors which had caused their graces many and substantial misunderstandings for some time, and which now threatened further difficulties to the Mansfeld domain. Because of this, the gentlewoman had asked Doctor Martin, particularly as he had been born in their graces' domain, at Eisleben, to participate in negotiations and to help achieve clarification and settlement. As his sermons, reading, and writing demanded Dr. Martin's full attention, he did not usually engage in such worldly undertakings, but he nevertheless

doch/seines Vaterlands halben/damit das
selbige zu einigkeit gebracht/ weiterung vor-
kommen/vnd die Graffen miteinander freund-
lich möchten versönet vnd vortragen wer-
den/diese rheiße nicht wegern/ noch abschla-
hen wollen / Ob es ihme wol solcher zeit zu
reisen/vnd sich mit diesen dingen zubeladen/
ganz vngelegen/auch beschwerlich/vnd wi-
der seinen gebrauch / gewesen. Ist dervn-
den tag wie obstehet von Wittenberg / jnn
dem namen des Allmechtigen / nach Eisle-
ben gerheiset.

Den xxiij. tag Januarij/ist er umb eilff
vhr vor mittag zu Hall einkomen / vnd bey
D. Jonas zu Herberg gelegen.

Den xxv. xxvj. xxvij./Januarij/ist er zu
Hall blieben/verhindert durchs wasser/vnd
hat den xxvj.tag / welcher war der Dien-
stag nach Conuersionis Pauli/alda jnn vn-
ser Lieben Frawen Kirchen gepredigt/ aus
den Actis Apostolorum / von Pauli beke-
rung.

Auff den Donnerstag/welcher war der
xxviij. Januarij/ist er von Hall aus / vber
das wasser / sampt seinen dreien Söhnen
vnd

nevertheless did not refuse to go on this journey, nor seek to shunt it aside. He did so for patriotic reasons, hoping to achieve unity and bring the counts to friendly conciliation and cooperation. The trip, however, was inconveniently timed, strenuous, and a disruption of his pattern of living. Thus he departed, on the above-mentioned date, traveling, in the name of the Almighty, from Wittenberg to Eisleben.

He arrived at Halle on the 24th of January at eleven in the morning, stopping over at the house of Dr. Jonas.

He was forced to remain at Halle on January 25, 26, and 27, his journey being delayed by flood conditions. On Tuesday the 26th, the Day of the Conversion of Paul, he preached at the Church of Our Lady from the Acts of the Apostles on the Paulist creed.

On Thursday, the 28th of January, he crossed the river, accompanied by his three sons [Hans, Martin, and Paul],
as well as

vnd D. Jonas / warlich etwas mit gefahr/
auffm Kaan / vber das wasser gefaren / das
er auch selbest sprach zu Doctor Jonas / Lie
ber D. Jonas / wer das dem Teuffel nicht
ein fein wolgefallen / wenn ich D. Marti
nus / mit dreien Sönnen vnd euch / jnn dem
wasser erschöff / Vnd volgends nach Eislebē
gerheiset.

Vnd nach dem er / auff der Grenz / mit
hundert vnd dreizehen pferden angeno
mē fur Eisleben kam / wurde fast schwach
im wagen / also / das man sich auch seines le
bens befahret / Doch als man ihn jnn der
Herberge mit warmen tüchern gerieben / als
vnd tranck er den abend / vnd war zu frie
den / klagt sich nicht mehr / Aber zuuor auff
dem wagen / wie ihn die tranckheit ansties /
saget er / Das thut mir der Teuffel alweg /
wenn ich etwas grosses vorhab / vnd aus
richten sol / das er mich zuuor / also versucht
vnd mit einer solchen Tentation angreiffet.

Von dem xxij. tag Januarij an / bis
auff den xvij. tag Februarij Inclusive / ist er
zu Eisleben gewesen jnn der handlung / vnd
neben der handlung vier predigt gethan /

A iij ein

as well as Dr. Jonas. They braved the dangerous waters in a small boat, which prompted him to say to Doctor Jonas: "Wouldn't the Devil be pleased, dear Dr. Jonas, if I, the Doctor Martin, together with my three sons and you, were to drown in these waters." He then proceeded to Eisleben.

But when he was welcomed, at the border, by one hundred and thirteen men on horseback, he had such an attack of weakness in the coach that there was fear for his life. However, upon arriving he was massaged with warm blankets, ate and drank in the evening, grew satisfied and uncomplaining. Earlier, when his illness flared up in the coach, he had said: "That is what the Devil always does to me: whenever I am planning something important, and am about to accomplish it, he tries to interfere ahead of time."

From the 29th of January to the 17th of February, inclusive, he remained at Eisleben for the negotiations. In addition, he delivered four sermons.

Once,

ein mal öffentlich von Priester (so an dem Altar die Communion gehalten) die absolution empfangen / vnd zwar Communicirt / vnd bey der andern Communion / Nemlich Sontags am tag Valentini / hat er zween Priester / nach Apostolischen brauch selbst ordinirt vnd geweiht.

Es sind auch von dem xxviij. Januarij an / bis auff den xvij. Februarij / gar viel seiner tröstlicher rede von ihm gehört / da er oft seines alters / vnd das er sich das heim / wenn er gen Wittemberg wider kommen würde / zur ruge legen / gedacht hat / Auch viel wichtiger tröstlicher Sprüche der Schrift / vber tisch / inn bey sein der Grafen / vnd vnser ander / die wir mit ihm zu tisch sassen / ausgelegt / welche zu seiner zeit sollen inn einem sonderlichen verzeichnis ausgehen.

Vnd sonderlich alle abend / die xxj. tage durch / ist er aus der grossen stuben vom tisch inn sein stüblin gangen vmb acht vhr / oder oft dafur / auch die abend alle / ein gute weil im fenster gestanden / vnd sein gebet zu Gott so ernstlich vnd einsig gethan / das wir / D.
Jonas /

Once, in public (when Communion was offered at the altar), he received absolution from the priest, together with two communicants; during the second Communion, which took place on Sunday, Valentine's Day, he ordained and blessed two priests in the Apostolic tradition.

From the 28th of January to the 17th of February, he imparted many thoughts that were beautifully uplifting, while discussing his advanced age and expressing the hope that he might retire upon his return to Wittenberg. He also cited important and comforting quotations from Scripture, interpreting them at the table in the presence of the count and of those of us who were sitting around him; these will eventually be recorded separately.

We observed that, on each of these twenty-one nights, he rose from the table in the big room at eight o'clock, or even earlier, went to his little room, and then stood for a good, long time by the window. There, he said his prayers so fervently and carefully that we, Dr. Jonas,

Jonas / M. Celius / Ambrosius sein diener / Joannes Aurifaber Vinariensis (noch dem wir still waren) oft etlich wort gehört / vns verwundert / Darnach hat er sich aus dem fenster vmbgewand / frölich (als hette er aber eine last abgelegt) vnd gemeinlich noch ein halbe viertel stund mit vns geredt / als denn zu bett gangen.

Auff den Mitwochen aber den xvij. februarij / haben die Herrn vnd Grauen D. G. S. selb gebeten / vnd wir alle / er wolt vor mittag nicht inn die grossen stubē zu den handlung gehen / sondern rugen / Da hat er inn seinem stüblin auff einem ledern bettlein gelegen / auch im stüblin vmbgangen vnd gebett / Nichts desto weniger aber / abends vnd morgens daniden inn der grossen stuben / auff seinem stul / sich an tisch gesetzt / vnd dasselbig abendmal zuvor (als er den morgen kurz vor drey vhr / seliglich inn Gott verschieden ist) hat er viel wichtige wort vnd rede / vom tod vnd künfftigem ewigem leben geredt / vnter andern gesagt / Ach lieber Gott / xx. jar ist ein geringe zeit / noch macht die kleine zeit / die Welt wiß /
wenn

Dr. Jonas, Master Coelius, his servant Ambrose [Rutzell of Delitzsch] and John Aurifaber of Weimar, were, to our surprise, able to hear several words quite clearly (we kept silent at these times). Afterwards he would turn away from the window, cheerful (as if he had shed a heavy burden), usually talking to us for another quarter of an hour before going to bed.

However, on Wednesday the 17th of February, our esteemed lords and ladies joined us in urging him not to descend to the big room in the morning for further talks, but to rest instead. He did remain in his little room, resting on the small leather bed or walking about, praying. Nevertheless, as he had done before in the mornings and evenings, he came down into the big room for dinner, sitting in his chair at the table, as usual (and this on the very night before his death, when he passed away, with the Lord's blessing, at three o'clock the following morning), speaking words of grave importance, reflecting on death and on the future eternal life; he said, among other things: "Oh, dear God, twenty years are a short time, yet during this brief period the world has become a desert wherein

wenn Man vnd weib nicht nach Gottes geschöpff vnd ordnung zusamen kemen / wie gar istes eytel Creatio / Gott samlet ihm seine Christlich Kirch ein gros teil aus den kleinen kindern / Dann ich gleube / wann ein kind von einem jar stirbt / das allezeit tausent oder zweytausent jerige kinder mit ihm sterben / Aber wenn ich D. Martinus drey / sechziger sterb / so halt ich nicht / das ihr sechzig oder hundert durch die Welt mit mir sterben / dann die Welt wird jgund nicht alt / Wolan / wir alten müssen darumb so lang leben / das wir dem Teuffel jnn hindern sehen / sowiel bosheit / vntrew / elend der Welt erfahren / auff das wir zeugen sein / das der Teuffel so ein böser geist gewesen / Menschlich geschlecht ist / wie ein schaffstal / der schlachtschaff.

Auch gedachte / der Herr Doctor den selben lezten abend vber tisch / dieser fragen / nemlich / Ob wir jnn ihener seligen / künfftigen ewigen versamlung vnd Kirchen / auch einander kennen würden / Vnd da wir vleissig baten des berichts / da sprach er / Wie thet Adam / er het Euam sein lebtag nie gesehen /

wherein men and women fail to live up to God's design and order, but engage in vain goings on. God is forced to make up his Christian Church largely of small children. Because, as I see it, when a one-year-old child dies, one thousand or two thousand such children die at the same time. But when the time comes for me, Dr. Martin, to die at the age of sixty-three, I don't believe that there will be as many as sixty or one hundred people still living in the world who will die together with me. Right now, the world just does not grow old. Well, then, we oldsters simply have to live long enough to see the Devil from the rear [see him for what he really is], having brought so much wickedness, treachery, and suffering upon the world. It is up to us to bear witness that the Devil has been an evil influence, while mankind lives like sheep, penned up and ready for slaughter."

During this final evening at the table, the Doctor also dealt with the problem of how we would recognize one another in that blessed future, the eternal congregation. And when we questioned him eagerly on this subject, he said: "When Adam, who had never seen Eve,

sehen / lag da vnd schlieff / Als er aber auff/
 wachte/da saget er mcht/Wo komstu her?
 Was bistu? Sondern / das fleisch ist von
 meinem fleisch/vnd das bein von meinen bei
 nen genommen. Woher wust er das /das dis
 weib aus keinem stein gesprungen were? Da
 her geschach es /das er des heiligen Geistes
 vol/vnd im warhafftigen erkentnis Gottes
 war/Zu dem erkentnis vnd bild / werden
 wir jnn jenem leben widderumb in Christo
 ernewert/das wir Vater/Muter/vnd vns
 vnternander kennen werden / von ange/
 sicht besser/dann wie Adam vnd Eua.

Nicht lang nach diesen worten / ist er
 auffgestanden / vnd jnn sein stüblin gan/
 gen / vnd sind ihm seine zwen kleine Söne
 Martinus/Paulus/M. Celiu bald nach
 gefolget / hat er sich seiner gewonheit nach
 im stüblin jnn das fenster gelegt zu beten /
 ist M. Celiu widder herab gangen / vnd
 ist Joannes Aurifaber Vinariensis hin /
 auff komen / hat der Doctor gesagt / Mir
 wird aber weh vnd bange/wie zuuor/vmb
 die brust / Da hat Johannes gesagt / Ich
 hab gesehen/da ich der jungen Herrn Prae/
 ceptor

Eve, awakened from his sleep, he did not ask, 'Where did you come from? Who are you?' but 'This is flesh of my flesh, bone of my bone.' How did he know that this woman had not sprung forth from a rock? It was because he was filled with the Holy Spirit and truly beheld God. With such insights and images, we shall be renewed in Christ in the life beyond. Thus, we shall know our mother and father, as well as each other, by sight, even better than did Adam and Eve."

Shortly after speaking thus, he stood up and went to his room. His two young sons, Martin and Paul, and Master Coelius soon followed him. In his room, he placed himself within the window frame, as usual, in order to pray. Master Coelius returned downstairs. But when John Aurifaber went up, the Doctor said, "I have a frightful pain in my chest, just as before." John said, "I recall that, when I was the young men's tutor and

ceptor war/weiß ihnen vmb die brust / oder
sonst vbel ward/das in die Greuin einhorn
gegeben hat/Wolt ihrs habē/wil ich es holē/
Hat der Doctor ja gesagt/In dem ist Johan
nes/ehe ehr zur Greuin gangen/elend herun
ter gelauffen/vnd rufft D. Jonas/vnd M.
Celio/die vber zwey Vater vnser lang/nicht
dandē gewesen/vñ schnell hinauff gelauffē.

Als wir hinauff kamen / hat er sich aber
hart geklaget vmb die brust / Da wir von
stund an (seinem gebrauch nach/ wie er das
heim gepflegt) mit warmen tuchern ihn
wol gerieben / das er empfand / vnd sprach
ihme were besser / Kam Graff Albrecht selb
ber gelauffen mit M. Johan / brachten das
Einhorn / vnd sprach der Graff / Wie ge
hets O lieber Herr Doctor : Darauff der
Doctor sprach / Es hat kein not/ gnediger
Herr/es begint sich zu bessern / Da hat ihm
Graff Albrecht selb / das Einhorn geschas
bet/Vnd nach dem der Doctor besserung fā
let/ist er widder von ihm gangen /seiner Re
the einer / Conrad von Wolfframs dorf /
neben vns D. Jona/M. Celio/Johan/Ambrosio bey ihm gelassen / Da hat man auff
Doctore

and you used to suffer from complaints in the chest and elsewhere, the Gentlewoman gave you unicorn. Would you now like me to get you some?" The Doctor said, "Yes." Before John left to find the gentlewoman, he rushed downstairs and called Dr. Jonas and Master Coelius. They had not been downstairs as long as it takes to say the Lord's Prayer twice, and now they rushed upstairs again.

When we came up, he complained bitterly of chest pains. From that moment on we began to rub him thoroughly with warm blankets (just as he was used to, at home) until he felt the results and said he was feeling better. Count Albrecht himself accompanied John and brought the unicorn. The Count asked, "How are you, my dear Doctor?" To which the Doctor replied, "There is no need to worry, my Lord, it is getting better." Count Albrecht then scraped the unicorn himself. Once the Doctor felt an improvement, he departed but left Conrad von Wolfframsdorf, one of his advisers, with us. Dr. Jonas, Master Coelius, John, and Ambrose also remained. We then carried out the Doctor's

Doctors begewen/das geschabte einhorn in:
einē löffel mit wein zwir ihm eingegeben/da
Conrad von Wolfframs dorff zuvor selbst
ein löffel vol/damit der Doctor deste weni/
ger schew hett genomen.

Da leget er sich vngefehrlich vmb ix. vhr
auffs Kugebetlin/vnd sprach/Wenn ich ein
halbs stündlin könd schlumen / hofft ich es
solt alles besser werdē/ Da hat er anderthal
be stund bis auff x vhr/sanfft vnd natürlich
geschlaffen/sind wir D. Jonas/vñ M. Mi
chaël Celus / sampt seinem diener Ambrosio
vnd seinen zweien kleinen Söhnen/Martino
vnd Paulo/bey ihm blieben.

Als er aber gleich sñ puncto x. vhr auff wa
cht / sprach er / Sihe / sitzt ihr noch / möcht
ihr auch nicht zu bet legē / Antworteten wir/
Uein herr Doctor / jzt sollen wir wachen/
vñ auff euch wartē/Mit dem begert er auff
vnd stund anch vom Kugebetlin auff / vnd
gieng sñ die kamer hart an der stubē/die mit
fenstern für aller lufft verwaret/vñ wiewol
er da nichts flaget / doch da er vber die sch
wellen der kamer gieng / sprach er / Walts
Gott/ich gehe zu bet. In manus tuas cōmendo
spiritū meū, redemisti me Dñe Deus veritatis.

B ij Als

the Doctor's wish that the powdered unicorn be administered to him, diluted, in a spoonful of wine. Conrad von Wolfframsdorf first took a spoonful himself (so that the Doctor would be less reluctant).

He decided, around 9 o'clock, that he would rest, saying: "If I could only sleep for half an hour, I should hope that everything might be quite well." He actually slept, quietly and naturally, for over half an hour, until 10 o'clock. We, Dr. Jonas, Master Michael Coelius, together with his servant Ambrose and this two small sons, Martin and Paul, remained by his side.

As soon as he awoke, at exactly 10 o'clock, he said: "See you are still here; don't you want to go to bed?" We answered: "No, Doctor, we want to stay and look after you." At this, he rebelled, got up from his resting bed, and walked toward the chamber next to the room, in which the windows had been locked against outside air. Although he did not complain, he said, as he crossed the threshold, "If it please God, I'll go to bed. In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me Domine Deus veritatis. [I place my soul in thy hands, for Thou, God, hast truly redeemed me.]"

When

Als er nu zu bett gieng / welches wol bereit mit warmen bretten vnd küssen / legt er sich ein / gab vns allen die hand / vnd gute nacht / vñ sprach / D. Jona vñ M. Celi / vñ ihr andern / betet für vnsern Herrn Gott / vñ sein Euangelium / das im wolgehe / Dess das Concilium zu Trent / vnd der leydige Papsst / zürnen hart mit ihm / Da ist die nacht bey ihme inn der kamer blieben D. Jonas / seine zwen söne / Martinus / Paulus / sein diener Ambrosius / vnd ander diener.

Diese xxj tag / hat man alle nacht lechte inn der kamer gehalten / dieselbe nacht aber auch das stüblin lassen warm halten / Da hat er wol geschlafen / mit natürlichem schlauben / bis der Zeiger eins geschlagen / ist er erwacht / vnd seinen diener Ambrosium geruffen / ihm die stuben einzuheizen / Als aber dieselbige / die ganze nacht warm gehalten / vnd Ambrosius der diener widder kam / fragt ihn D. Jonas / ob er wider schwachheit empfände / sprach er / Ah Herr Gott / wie ist mir so wehe / Ah lieber Doctor Jonas / ich achte / ich werde hie zu Eisleben da ich geboren

When he went to his bed, which had been prepared with warm covers and pillows, he first lay down, then shook hands with all of us, bade us good night, and said, "Dr. Jonas and Master Coelius, and you others, pray for our Lord God and his Evangelium, that He may fare well, because the Council of Trent and the insufferable pope are feuding bitterly with him." Those who stayed with him in the chamber that night were Dr. Jonas, his two sons Martin and Paul, the servant Ambrose, and a second servant.

During these twenty-one days, lights had been burning in the chamber, and on this particular night that was also done in the little room, to keep it warm. He slept well, with normal breathing, until the clock struck one. As he woke up, he called his servant Ambrose and asked him to heat up the room. However, as it had been kept warm all through the night, Dr. Jonas asked him, once the servant Ambrose had returned, whether the weakness had recurred. He said: "O Lord, I am in such pain. My dear Doctor Jonas, I guess I shall have to remain here in Eisleben (where I was born

geborn vnd getaufft bân bleiben / Daranff
D. Jonas / vnd **Ambrosius** der diener/ges
 antwort/ **Ah** Reuerende Pater / **Gott** vns
 ser Himlischer vater wird helffe durch **Chri**
stum/ den ihr gepredigt habt. Da ist er one
 helffe/oder handleiten/durch die **Kamer** inn
 das stâblin gângen / Auch im schrit vber
 die schwellen gesprochen/inn massen/ wie er
 zu bett gângen / diese wort / *In manus tuas*
commendo spiritum meum, *Redemisti me*
Domine DEVS veritatis. Auch ein mal oder
 zwie im stâblin hin vnd wider gângen / **Le**
ge sich darnach auff das ruge betlin / vnd
 flagt / es drück ihn vmb die brust sehr hart/
 Aber doch schonete es noch des hertzen.

Da hat man ihn / wie er begert/vnd zu
Wittenberg im brauch gehabt / mit waro
 men tûchern gerieben / vnd ihm lûssen
 vnd pful gewermet / Dem er sprach / **Es**
 helff ihnen wol / das man ihn warm hielt.

Vor diesem allen/vnd da der **Doctor** nu
 sich auffs rugebettlin gelegt / **Kam** **M. Celi**
us / aus seiner **Kamer** hart an der vnsern ge/
 lauffen / vnd bald nach ihm **Johannes**
Zurifaber / Da hat man gang eilend den

B iij **Wirt**

born and baptized)." To which Dr. Jonas and the servant Ambrose replied: "But Reverend Father, God, our Heavenly Lord, will help you through Christ, of whom you have preached." He then walked, unaided and unsupported, through the chamber to his room. As he stepped over the threshold, on his way to bed, he uttered these words: "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, Redemisti me Domine DEUS veritatis. [I place my soul in thy hands, for thou, God, hast truly redeemed me.]" He crossed and recrossed his room, once or twice. As he put himself down to rest, he complained of very severe pressure on his chest. But his heart did not pain him.

Then, according to his request and his practice in Wittenberg, he was massaged with warm blankets, and his pillow and cover were warmed up. He said that the warmth seemed to be helpful.

In view of all this, and now that the Doctor had bedded down, Master Coelius rushed from his room, followed quickly by John Aurifaber. Urgently, we roused

Wirt/Johann Albrecht/den Stadtschreiber/
vnd sein weib auffgeweckt / dergleichen die
zwen Medicos jnn der Stad / welche alle
(nach dem sie nahe wöneten) jnn einer vier/
tel stund gelauffen kamen.

Erstlich der Wirt mit seinem weibe/
Darnach M. Simon Wild/ein arzt / vnd
D. Ludwig/ein Medicus / bald darauff
Graff Albrecht mit seinem gemahl / Welche
Grewin allerley würrtz vñ labfal mit bracht/
vnd on vnterlas mit allerley stercken in zuer
quickē sich beyleißigt/Aber jñ dem alle/sagt
der Herr Doctor / Lieber Gott/ mir ist sehr
weh vñ angst / Ich far dahin/ ich werde mi
wol zu Eisleben bleiben/ Da tröstet ihn D.
Jonas/vnd M. Celius/vnd sprachen/Re/
uerende Pater / Küsset ewern lieben Herrn
Ihesum Christum an / vnsern hohen Prie/
ster/den einigen Mitler/Ihr habet einen gro
ssen guten schweis gelassen/Gott wird gna/
de verleihē/das es wird besser werden/ Da
antwort er/vnd sprach/ Ja es ist ein kalt to
der schweis / ich werde meinen geist auffge/
ben/denn die frantzheit mehret sich / Dar/
auff fieng er an/vnd sprach.

O mein

we roused the master of the house, the town recorder John Albrecht and his wife, as well as two local medical men, who (as they lived nearby) arrived hurriedly within a quarter of an hour.

First came the master of the house and his wife; then the physician, Master Simon Wild, and Dr. [Balthasar] Ludwig, a medical man; soon after, Count Albrecht and his Lady [Anna]. The Gentlewoman brought several herbs and invigorating medications and sought constantly to aid him with strengthening nourishment. Amidst all this, however, the Doctor said, "Dear Lord, I am in much pain and fear. I am on my way; I shall now probably remain in Eisleben." Dr. Jonas and Master Coelius reassured him: "Reverend Father, call upon your dear Lord Jesus Christ, our High Priest, our Mediator. You have perspired well and freely. God grant, you will feel better." He replied by saying: "Yes, it is a cold, deathly sweat; I shall give up the ghost, because the illness has become more severe." Whereupon he spoke as follows: "O Heavenly Father,

O mein Himlischer vater / ein
 Gott vnd vater vnser Herr Ihesu
 Christi / du Gott alles trostes / ich
 dancke dir / das du mir deinen lieben
 Son Ihesum Christum offenbart
 hast / an den ich glaube / den ich gepre-
 digt vnd bekant hab / den ich geliebet
 vnd gelobet hab / welchen der leidige
 Papst / vnd alle Gottlosen schenden /
 verfolgen / vnd lestern / Ich bitte dich
 mein Herr Ihesu Christe / las dir
 mein * seelichen beuohlen sein. O
 Himlischer vater / ob ich schon diesen
 leib lassen / vnd aus diesem leben hin-
 weg gerissen werden mus / So weis
 ich doch gewis / das ich bey dir ewig
 bleiben / vnd aus deinen henden mich
 niemands reissen kan.

*
 (seelichen-
 sprach er
 eigentlich)
 one zweifel/
 sich fur Gott
 zu demüthi-
 gen / Als solt
 er sagen / wie
 ein arme Cre-
 atur bin ich
 gegen dir / du
 grosse vnend-
 liche ewige
 Majestet.

Weiter

"O, Heavenly Father, God and Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, God of all consolation, I thank you that you have revealed your Son Jesus Christ to me, in whom I believe, of whom I have preached and to whom I have confessed, whom I have loved and praised, and who is being abused, persecuted, and mocked by the insufferable pope, and by all those who are without God. I beg you, My Lord Jesus Christ, command my small soul.* O, Heavenly Father, though I shall have to leave this body and be torn from this life, I know for certain that I shall remain with you eternally, and that no one can tear me from your hands." He further

*He said "small soul" undoubtedly in such a way as to humble himself before God, as if to say, "What a poor creature am I, compared to you, your great, infinite, eternal Majesty."

Weiter sprach er auch/ Sic DEVS dilexit mundum, vt vnigenitum filium suum daret, vt omnis, qui credit in eum non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam. Vnd die wort aus dem lxxviij. Psalm / DEVS noster DEVS saluos faciendi, & DOMINVS est Dominus educendi ex morte. Das ist deudsch / Wir haben einen Gott des Heils/ vnd ein HERRN/ HERN/ der mitten aus dem Tode vns fñret.

Ja dem versucht der Magister noch ein seer köstliche arznei/ die er zur not allzeit in seiner taschen hatte /des der Doctor ein löffel vol ein nam/ Aber er sprach abermal/ Ich fahr dahin/ meinē Geist werd ich auffgebē/ Sprach derhalb dreimal sehr eilend auffeinander / Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, Redemisti me DEVS veritatis: Als er nu seinen Geist inn die hende Gottes des Himlischen vaters befohlen hatte/ sieng er an still zu sein/ Man rüttelt aber/ rieb/ kisset / vnd rieff ihme / Aber er that die augen zu / antwort nicht / Da streich Graff Alsbrechts gemahl/ vñ die Erzte ihm den puls mit allerley sterckwassern / welche ihm die
Doctorin

He further said: "Sic DEUS dilexit mundum, ut anigenitum filium suum daret, vt omnis, qui credit in eum non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam. [God so loved the world that he gave it his only son, so that none who believe in him should perish, but enjoy a life everlasting.]" And the words of the 118th Psalm: "DEUS noster DEUS saluos faciendi, & DOMINUS est Dominus educendi ex morte." Which means in German [translated into English]: "We have a God of Salvation, and a LORD, Lord, who leads us away from Death."

With that, the Master [Wild] offered another, particularly precious medication, which he carried in his pocket for use in emergencies. The Doctor took a spoonful of it, but said once again: "I am on my way. I shall give up the ghost." Quite hurriedly, he spoke three times, thus: "Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, Redemisti me DEUS veritatis." Now that he had commended his soul into the hands of God the Heavenly Father, he grew still. But we shook him, rubbed him, cooled him, and called his name. Yet, he closed his eyes and did not answer. Now Count Albrecht's wife and the physicians moistened his wrists with several strengthening liquids, which the Doctor's wife

Doctorin geschickt/vnd er selbst pfleget zu/
gebrauchen.

Inn dem er aber so still ward / rieß
ihm D. Jonas/vnd M. Celius starck ein/
Reuerende Pater/ Wollet ihr auff Christ/
um/vnd die Lehre/ wie ihr die gepredigt/
bestendig sterben/Sprach er/das mans es
deudlich hören kond/Ja. Mit dem wand
er sich auff die rechte seiten / vnd fieng an zu
schlafen / fast ein viertel stunde/ das man
auch der besserung hoffet/ Aber die Ertzte
vnd wir / sagten alle / Dem schlaff were
nicht zuvertrauen/leuchteten ihm mit liech/
ten vleissig vnter das angesicht.

Inn dem kam Graff Hans Heinrich
von Schwarzenburg / sampt seinem ge/
mahl auch darzu/ Nach dem bald erbleicht
der Doctor sehr vnter dem angesicht/ wur/
den ihm füsse vnd nase kalt / Thet ein
tieff/doch senff/odem holen / mit welchem
er seinen Geist auffgab/mit stille vnd grosser
gedult / das er nicht mehr ein finger noch
bein reget / Vnd kond niemandes mercken
(das zeugen wir fur Gott auff vnser gewiss/
sen) einige vnruhe / quelung des leibes/oder
C schmerzen

the Doctor's wife [Katherine Luther] had sent along and which he, himself, had often used.

Because he had grown so quiet, Dr. Jonas and Master Coelius called to him, "Reverend Father, do you wish to die, standing up for Christ and for the Teaching that you have preached?" He spoke, so one could hear it clearly, "Yes." With this he turned to the right and fell asleep for nearly a quarter of an hour, raising hope for improvement. But the physicians, and all of us, were agreed that we could not trust this sleep, and we kept observing his face by candle light.

Just then Count Heinrich von Schwartzenburg and his lady joined us. Now the Doctor's face had turned pale, his feet and nose had grown cold. He drew a deep but soft breath, and with this he gave up the ghost, quietly and with great forbearance, without moving so much as a finger. No one observed (and we can testify to that, before God, in all conscience) any kind of disquiet, bodily suffering, or pain

schmerzen des todes / Sondern entschlief
friedlich vnd sanfft im Herrn / wie Simeon
saget.

Das wol der spruch Joannis am viij
an ihm war ward / Warlich sag ich euch /
Wer mein wort helt / wird den Tod nims
mer mehr sehen ewiglich / Welcher spruch Jo
han. viij. die letzte handschrift ist / so er auch
den leuten zu gedechtnis inn Bibel geschries
ben / vnd dieselbige seine handschrift gen
Ulrich Hans Gasman / dem Sonstainisch
en Kendtmeister zukomen / vorn inn ei
ner Hauspostill / Welchen spruch der liebste
herzliche Vater also anegelegt.

(Den tod nimmermehr sehen)

Wie vnglenblich ist doch das ge
redt / vnd widder die offentliche vnd teg
liche erfahrung / Dennoch ist es die warheit /
Wenn ein mensch mit ernst Gottes wort im
herzen betrachtet / im gleubet / vnd darüber
einschlefft oder stirbet / so sincket vnd fehret
er dahin / ehe er sich des todes versihet / oder
gewart wird / vnd ist gewis selig im Wort /
das er also gegleubet vnd betrachtet von
hinnen gefaren. **Unter dis war geschrie
ben**

pain of death. Rather, as Simon puts it in his song, he joined the Lord in peaceful sleep.

With him, the words of John came true: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death" [John 8:51]. This phrase represents his last writing; he inscribed it, as a memento, into a Postil [Family Book of Sermons] in his own handwriting, commenting on it in a dedication to Hans Gasman, an estate administrator from Ellrich, in [the county of] Hohenstein. The dearly beloved Father interpreted it as follows:

Never see death

"Truly, these words are beyond belief, and contradict general, every day experience; and yet, they are quite true: if a man contemplates God's word with sincerity, from his heart, believes in Him and falls asleep with this thought, or dies, then he fades and passes on before he recognizes death or is aware of it, then he must surely pass on with a certainty in the Word he believed and valued." Under this was written:

"Martin Luther,

ben / Martinus Luther Doctor 1546.
geschehen am vij.tag Februarij.

Als er nu im Herrn vorschieden/vnd
Graff Albrecht / sein gemahl / der von
Schwarzenburg 2c. sampt vns erschra-
cken / immer noch schrien / Man solt nie
reiben vnd laben nicht ablassen / thet man
alles was menschlich vnd mäglich war /
Aber es ward der laib immer kelter vnd
tödlicher.

Vnd nach dem der todte laib also auff
dem Kugebettlin/ bis jnn drey viertel stund
gelegen / machet man darneben / von vie-
len fedderbetten/drey vnterbett/vnd tächer
oben/ hart bey dem Kugebett / darein man
sich hub / der hoffnung (wie wir alle
wünschetten vnd beteten) ob Gott noch
wölte gnade geben.

Da kamen/ehe es tag ward / vmb
vier vhr / der Durchleuchte / Hochgeborne
Fürst vnd Herr / Herr Wolff / Fürst zu
Anhalt / die Edlen / Wolgebornen Gra-
uen / vnd Herrn / Philippus / Johans
Jörg gebrüder / Graff Volradt / Graff
Hans/Graff Wolff auch gebrüder/Grauz
C ij vnd

"Martin Luther, Doctor, 1546, done on the 7th day of February."

Now that he had joined the Lord, all of us, including Count Albrecht, his lady, von Schwarzenburg, and others, were shocked and continued to shout that the massage and medication should be continued, and that one should not give up doing whatever was humanly possible. Meanwhile, however, his body grew colder, more obviously dead.

Afterward, the dead body remained on the bed for three quarters of an hour. Next to it, a rest was prepared, made up of three featherbeds, three lower beds, with blankets on the top. We lifted him onto this bed, hoping (as we all wished and prayed) that God would still be merciful.

Then arrived, before dawn at four o'clock, with their ladies, His Serene Highness, Prince Wolff [Wolfgang] of Anhalt, the brothers Philip and John-George, and the brothers Count Volradt, Count Hans, and Count Wolff,
the Gentlewomen

vnd herren zu Mansfeld / vnd andere herren / vnd vom Adel.

Auff dem bette lies man den Leib ligen / von vieren an bis nach neunnen / das ist fünff ganzer stundē / Da viel ehrlicher Bürger kamen / vñ den toden leib mit heissen threnē vñ weinen ansahen / darnach kleidet man jnen inn ein weissen new Schwebisch kittel / legt die leich inn die kamer auff ein bett vnd strohe / bis so lang ein ziener sarck gegossen / vnd er darein geleget ward / Da haben jhnen inn dem sarck sehē ligen vil vom Adel / die jhnen das mehrerteil gekant / man vñ weib / etliche hundert / vnd ein sehr gros anzal volcks.

Den xviij. Februarij / hat man die Leich inn der herberg / Doctor Trachstets hause stehen lassen.

Den xix. Februarij / vmb zwey vhr nach mittag / hat man jhn nach Christlichem gebrauch / mit grosser ehrwürdigkeit vnd Geistlichen gesungen / inn die Hauptpfarrkirchen / zu S. Andres getragen / Da jhn Fürsten / Grauen vnd Herrn / darunter auch Graff Gebhart / mit seinen zweien Söhnen / Graff Jörgen vnd Christoffel gewesen /

the Gentlewomen and Lords of Mansfeld, as well as other gentlemen and many members of the nobility.

The body was left on the bed for five full hours, from four until nine. Many honorable citizens arrived to view the body, and there were many hot tears and much weeping. Then, it was clothed in a new white Swabian smock, and bedded on straw in the chamber, until a leaden coffin had been molded, and then it was placed therein. He was viewed in the coffin by hundreds of men and women of the nobility, many of whom had known him, as well as by a great number of the populace.

On the 18th of February, the body was taken for safekeeping to the house of Doctor Trachstet [Philip Trachstet, a local jurist].

On the 19th of February, at two in the afternoon, he was taken, in accordance with Christian tradition with great solemnity and spiritual song, to the main Church of Saint Andrew. He was followed by the princes, gentlewomen, and lords, among them Count Gebhart with his two sons, Counts George and Christoffel, and their

sen /sampt ihren Frauenzimmern / vnd ei-
ner sehr grossen trefflichen anzal volcks / be-
leitet vnd nachgefolget.

Da hat Doctor Jonas /bald/ als die
Leich inn den Kohe gesetzt /eine predigt ge-
than/ welche excipirt ist/ Erstlich vō der per-
son vnd gaben D. Martini. 2 Von der
aufferstehung vnd ewigem leben. 3 War-
nung den widderfachern/ das der tod wur-
de krafft hinder sich haben/ wider des Sa-
tans Reich / Ober den locum j. Thessa. iiii.
Da hat man die nacht vber die Leich jñ der
Kirchen stehen/ vnd mit zehen Bürgern be-
wachen lassen.

Als aber auff erfodderung vnser G.
H. des Churfürsten zu Sachsen/ die Leich
solte gen Wittenberg gebracht werden
welche die Grauen vnd Herren zu Mans-
feld/ auch sehr gern bey sich inn ihrer Herr-
schafft behalten /Aber doch zu gefallen dem
Churfürsten/ haben volgen lassen hat man
auff den xx. tag Februarij/ welcher war
Sonntag nach Valentini zu frū / aber/
eins eine Predigt gethan/ die durch M. Mi-
chael Celium geschehen / auff den spruch/

C ij E saie

and their womenfolk, as well as many other people.

As soon as the body had been placed in the coffin, Dr. Jonas gave a sermon which is excerpted here: First, he spoke of the person and gifts of Dr. Martin; second, of resurrection and eternal life; third, he warned antagonists that death commands power against Satan, citing the First Epistle to the Thessalonians (4). The body remained at the church through the night, while ten citizens stood guard.

At the behest of our Benevolent Elector [John Frederick] of Saxony, the body was readied to be taken to Wittenberg, although the gentlewomen and lords of Mansfeld would have liked to see it remain in their domain. However, the wish of the elector was adhered to, and on the morning of February 20, the Saturday after Valentine's Day, Master Michael Coelius gave a sermon, based on the saying of

Isaiah (56),

Esaiæ lvj / *lustus perit & nemo considerat.*

Vnd volgendes zwischen zwelffen vnd einem schlage/hat man ihn widerumb mit aller ehrwürdigkeit vnd Christlichen gebreuchen vnd Gesengen / aus der Stad Eisleben gefürt / Da abermals die obgedachte Fürsten / Grauen vnd Herrn / vnd darneben Graff Gebhart mit zweien Söhnen / Graff Jörgen/vñ Graff Christoffel / auch Grauen vnd Herren zu Mansfeld / sampt Graff Gebharts gemahl / vñ ihrem Frauenzimmer (wie dann die selbigen zuvor bey dem Kirchgang auch gewesen) vnd ein grosse anzal volcks / andechtig nachgefolget / vnd bis fürs eusserste thor/mit vielen threnen vnd weinen die Leich beleetet haben/ Also ist man mit ihm diesen abend bis gen Hall komen.

Zu Eisleben/che diese Kirchen Cereemonien alle gebraucht / haben zwen Maler also das todte angesicht abconterfeit /einer von Eisleben / dieweil er noch im stüblin auff dem bett gelegen/ Der ander / Meister Lucas Fortennagel von Hall / da er schon eine nacht im Sarcß gelegen.

Als

Isaiah (56), "Iustus perit & nemo considerat [KJV (57:1): The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart.]"

Afterwards, between the hours of twelve and one, he was taken with respectful Christian ritual and song, out of the town of Eisleben. Again, the thoughtful princes, gentlewomen and lords followed prayerfully, including Count Gebhart and his two sons, Count George and Count Christoffel, as well as the Gentlewomen and Lords of Mansfeld, together with Count Gebhart's wife, her companion (who had also participated in the procession to the church), and many other people. With many tears and much weeping, they escorted the body to the town's outer gate. The same night, Halle was reached.

At Eisleben, before the church ceremonies had demanded everyone's attention, two artists painted the head in death: one, from Eisleben, sketched Luther while he rested on his bed in the room; the other, Master Lucas Furtenagel of Halle, performed the task after the body had been in the coffin one night. While

Als man ihnen nu aus Eisleben färet/
hat man auff dem wege von Eisleben fast
auff allen Dörffern geleitet/vnd das volck
aus den Dörffern zugelauffen/man/weib/
vnd kinder/vnd zeichen eines ernstlichen mit
leiden gegeben. Seind also nach fünff vhr
fur Hall kommen/Vnd da man etwas der
Stad genahet / da sind auch heraus weit
vber den steinweg / Bürger vnd Bürgerin
entgegen komen/Vnd da man in die Stad
thor mit der leich komē/sind die beide Pfarr
herr (nach dem Superattendent / D.
Jonas der Leich nach fur) S. Ulrich
vnd Mauritij / vnd alle Diener des Eu
angelij / auch ein Erbar Rat zu Hall/
samt einer grossen anzal aller Ratsper
sonen/ auch die ganze Schul / Schulmei
ster / vnd alle seine knaben/mit gewonlicher
Leich Ceremonien vnd Gesungen entgegen
gange/Auch ein gros mechtig volck/darun
ter vil ehrlicher Bürger /vil matrone/Jung
frawen/kinder/am eussersten thor entgegen
komen / mit solchem lauten wehklagen vnd
weinen / das wir es dahinden in den letz
ten hindersten wagen gehört. Vnd als
man bey S. Moritz / in die gassen / den
alten

While he was being taken from Eisleben, bells tolled in virtually all villages, so that villagers, men, women, and children, could turn out to show their sincere compassion. Shortly after five o'clock, they approached Halle. As they moved toward the town, men and women inhabitants came to meet them across the paved road. As the body arrived at the city gate, the two pastors of St. Ulrich and St. Moritz (who followed the body), led by their Dean, Dr. Jonas) joined the procession, as did all the servants of the church, as well as the Honorable Town Counsellor of Halle, together with many members of the Council, the school, including the principal and his boys, who offered the usual funeral ceremonies and songs. A large group of people also met them at the outer gate, including many honorable citizens, matrons, young women, and children, whose loud mourning and weeping could be heard in the very last coach of the procession. Then, they entered Saint Moritz, through the streets of the old

den altz marck hinauff gezogen ist/wie auch
auff der brücken vñ im thor/ ein solch gros
gedreng/vmb den wagen der Leich/vnd an
dere gewesen/das man oft hat müssen inn
gassen vnd auff dem marck stillhalten/vnd
man sehr spat/ fast halb sieben/inn die Kir-
chen Vnser lieben Frawen zu Hall/ komen
ist.

Die Kirch aber zu vnser lieben Fra-
wen/ist allenthalben sehr vol volcks gewe-
sen/da sie den Psalm / Aus tieffer not/mit
Kleglichen gebrochen stimmen /mehr heraus
geweint/denn gesungen haben/Vnd wo es
nicht so gar spat gewesen/hett man eine pres-
digt gethan / Vnd man hat also eilend die
Leich inn die Sacristen tragen lassen /vnd
die nacht mit etlichen Bürgern bewachen.

Des volgenden morgens / vmb sechs
schlege/ ward die Leiche / wider aus Halle
mit geleute/welche zuuor auch inn allen Kir-
chen geschehen/vnd ehrlicher Christlicher be-
leitung/bis fur das thor /abermal wie auff
den abend zuuor bracht/ mit beleitung eines
ganzen Erbarn Raths/aller prediger vnd
der Schulen daselbst.

Don

old market. While passing through the gate and over the bridges, there was such congestion around the hearse that the procession had to stop several times in the streets and on the market; as a result, they arrived quite late, close to seven-thirty, at the Church of Our Lady in Halle.

The Church of Our Lady was filled, into every corner, by people who sang the Psalm "From Our Deep Need" with such pitifully broken voices that it was more like weeping than singing. It was too late for a sermon, and the body was hurriedly taken to the sacristy, where several citizens stood guard through the night.

Next morning, at the sound of six, the body was taken from Halle in the Christian manner, to the sound of bells from all the churches, beyond the city gate. Again, as on the previous night, it was accompanied by members of the Honorable Town Council, all clergy, and the school. After

Von Hall ist die Leich gefahren/auff
den Sontag den xxi. Februarij/gen Bitter/
feld / dahin auff den mittag bracht / Da
auff der grenz / vnd auch im Stedtlin die
verordenten vnfers gnedigsten Herrn / des
Churfürsten zu Sachssen / der Heubtman
zu Wittenberg Erasmus Spiegel / Zu Dies
ben / Gangloff von Zeilingen / zu Brehne
Dietrich von Taubenheim / Die zwen Gra
uen / vnd vns so die Leich geleitet / angeno
men / vnd den abend bis gen Kemberg
bracht haben / Da man den / beide zu Bitter/
feld vnd Kemberg / mit gewöhnlichen Christ
lichen Ceremonien / die Leich ehrlich ange
nomen vnd beleetet.

Des Montags den xxi. Februarij/
haben die Edeln vnd wolgebornen Gra
uen vnd Herrn / Graff Hans / vnd Graff
Hans Hoier / Grauen vnd herrn zu Mans
feld (wie sie denn aus Eisleben ongefährlich
mit xlv. gerüsten pferden geritten) fur Wit
temberg an das Eisterthor die Leich brach
t / Da sind bald am thor (wie das
zuuor / aus Churfürstlichem beuehl ver
ordnet) versamlet gestanden / Rector / Ma
D giste

After leaving Halle, the body arrived in Bitterfeld at midday, Sunday the 21st of February. It was met, at the town line and within the hamlet itself, by representatives of our Benevolent Elector of Saxony; Erasmus Spiegel, Mayor of Wittenberg; Gangloff von Heilingen of Düben; Dietrich von Taubenheim of Brehna [neighboring communities]; and their ladies. Together with us, they accompanied and guarded the body on the way to Kemberg. Both in Bitterfeld and Kemberg, it was truly welcomed and accompanied with proper Christian ceremony.

On Monday the 22nd of February, the noble and well-born gentlewomen and Lords, Count John and Count John-George, the gentlewomen and Lords of Mansfeld (having arrived safely from Eisleben on fourteen sturdy horses) joined us. Assembled at the Gate (in accordance with previous orders from the Electors) were the Rector, Masters,

gistori vnd Doctores / vnd die gangelöbliche
Vniuersitet / sampt einem Erbarn Rat/
vnd ganger Gemeine vnd Bürgerschaft/
Da sind die Diener des Euangelij vnd
Schul mit gewonlichen Christlichen Gesen-
gen vnd Ceremonien / der Leich vorgegan-
gen / vom Elsterthor an / die ganze lenge der
Stad / bis an die Schloßkirchen.

Vor der Leich sind geritten / die obge-
melten verordenten V. G. S. des Chur-
fürsten zu Sachssen / vnd obgemelte zween
junge Grauen vnd Herrn zu Mansfeld / on
gefehrlich inn die k. v. pferde / Vnd nechst
nach dem wagen / darauff die Leich gefas-
ren / ist sein ehelich gemahl die fraw Doctos-
rin / Catharina Lutherin / sampt etlichen
matronen / vff einem weglin hinach gefürt/
Darnach sind seine drey Söne / Johannes/
Martinus / Paulus Lutheri / Jacob Lü-
ther Bürger zu Mansfeld sein bruder / Jörg
vnd Cilius Kauffman / seiner schwester
Söne / auch Bürger zu Mansfeld / vnd
andere der freundschaft / gefolget. Dar-
nach Magnificus D. Rector der löblichen
Vniuersitet / mit etlichen jungen Fürstens
Grauen

Masters, and Doctors, all scholars of the worthy University [of Wittenberg], as well as the Honorable Town Council, with the whole community and citizenry. The servants of the Church and the school walked ahead of the body, offering appropriate Christian song and ritual, starting at the Elster Gate, moving through town, and arriving at the Castle Church.

Ahead of the body, on horseback, were representatives of our Benevolent Elector of Saxony, the two young Gentlewomen and Lords of Mansfeld, accompanied by their fourteen horsemen. Following the hearse on which the body had been placed, came his wife, Katharine Luther, as well as several matrons. Next followed his three sons, John, Martin, and Paul Luther; his brother, Jacob Luther, a citizen of Mansfeld; his sister's sons, George and Ciliax [Cyriakus] Kauffman; citizens of Mansfeld, and other friends. These were followed by the rector of the worthy university, several young princes, gentlewomen

Grauen / Freyherrn / so inn der Vniuersitet
 Wittenberg Studij halben sich enthalten/
 Darnach ist der Leich gefolget / D. Grego-
 rius Brück / D. Philippus Melanthon / D.
 Justus Jonas / D. Pomeranus / D. Ca-
 spar Creuziger / D. Jeronymus / vnd ander
 elteste Doctores der Vniuersitet Witten-
 berg / Darauff alle Doctores / Magistri/
 vnd ein Erbar Radt / sampt den Ratsper-
 sonen / Darnach der ganz grosse hauffe vnd
 herrliche mennige der Studenten / vnd dar-
 nach Burger schafft / Dergleichen viel Bü-
 gerin / matronen / frawen / Jungfrawen /
 viel ehrlicher kinder / jung vnd alt / alles mit
 lautem weinen vnd wehklagen / Inn al-
 len gassen / auch auff dem ganzen marck ist
 das gedreng so gros / vnd solch menge des
 volcks gewesen / das sichs billich inn der eil
 zuuervundern / vnd viel bekant / das sie der
 gleich zu Wittenberg nicht gesehen.

Als man die Leich inn die Schloßkir-
 chen bracht / hat man die selbigen gegen dem
 Predigstul wider gesetzt / Da hat man erst
 Christliche funebres cantiones gesungen /
 Darnach ist der Ehrwürdige Herr D. D.

D ij Pomeranus

gentlewomen and barons who were studying at the University of Wittenberg. After this, the body was followed by Dr. Gregory Brück [aide to the Elector of Saxony], Dr. Philip Melanchthon, Dr. Justus Jonas, Dr. Pomeranus [John Bugenhagen], Dr. Caspar Creutziger [Cruziger], Dr. Hieronymus [Schurff], and other senior doctors of Wittenberg University. Next came all the doctors, masters, and the honorable council, together with counsellors; further, a multitude of people, a great number of students and the citizenry; many female citizens, matrons, women, young women, many earnest children, young and old, all with much mourning and sobbing. In all the streets, as well as in the market place, there were such big crowds that many remarked with amazement that they had never seen the like of it in Wittenberg.

Once the body had arrived at the Castle Church, it was placed next to the pulpit. First, Christian funeral chants were sung. Afterward, the Honorable Dr. Dr. Pomeranus stepped

Pomeranus auffgetreten / vnd da vor etlich tausent Menschen gar ein Christliche tröstliche Predig gethan / welche auch wird an tag gegeben werden.

Nach der Predigt D. Pomeranij/hat der herr Philippus Melanthon aus sonderliche hertzlichen mitleiden / vnd die Kirchen zu trösten/ein schöne funebrem Orationem gethan/ welche albereit im Druck ist ausgangen/vnd hernach auch Deudsch wird ausgehen.

Nach dem die Oratio geendet / haben die Leich hingetragen / ezliche geleerte Magistri darzu verordent/welche die Leich inn das grab gelassen/ vnd also zur ruge gelegt/ Vnd ist also das thewer organū vnd werckzeug des Heiligen Geistes/der leib des Ehrwürdigen D. Martini / alda im Schloß zu Wittemberg / nicht fern vom Predigstul (da er am leben manliche gewaltige Christliche Predigten / fur den Chur vnd Fürsten zu Sachsen / vnd der ganzen Kirchen gethan) inn die erden gelegt / Vnd wie Paulus i. Coriuth. xv. spricht / Gesehet inn schwachheit

stepped before the several thousand people to offer a comforting, truly Christian sermon (which was repeated later in the day).

After the sermon by Dr. Pomeranus, Dr. Philip Melanchthon gave a beautiful funeral oration that expressed a particularly heartfelt sorrow, designed to comfort the congregation; it has meanwhile been printed and will be published later in German.

Following the conclusion of the oration, several learned Masters lifted the body up and placed it, for its eternal rest, in the grave. Thus that precious voice and tool of the Holy Spirit, the body of the Reverend Dr. Martin has been placed in the earth at Wittenberg Castle, not far from the pulpit (where, in his lifetime, he delivered many a powerful Christian sermon before the Elector and princes of Saxony). As Paul said in I Corinthians (15[43]): "It is sown

schwacheit/ das er auffgehe an ihenem tage
in ewiger herrlichkeit.

Zu einem solchen Christlichen abschied
aus diesem elenden leben / vnd zu derselben
ewigen seligkeit / helffe vns allen/der ewige
Himlische vater / so gemelten D. Mar-
tinum / zu dem grossen werck beruffen hat/
Vnd vnser herr Ihesus Christus / welchen
er treulich gepredigt/vnd bekant / Vnd der
heilige Geist/der ihm widder Bapt/vñ alle
pforten der hellen/ solche sonderliche freidig-
keit / grossen mut vnd hertz / durch seine
Göttliche krafft / in vielen hohen kempffen/
gegeben hat.

WIr D. Justus Jonas / vñ M. Michael
Celius / vnd Johannes Aurifaber Vi-
nariensis / obgenant/wie wir bey des löblich-
en Vaters seligen ende gewesen sind / von
anfang bis auff seinen letzten odem / zeugen
dis fur Gott/ vnd auff vnser eigen letzte hin-
fart/vnd gewissen/das wir dieses nicht an-
ders gehört / gesehen / sampt den Fürsten/
Grauen/Herrn/vnd allen die dazu komen/
Vnd das wir es nicht anders erzelet/dann
D iij wie

sown in weakness, it is raised in power."

May the eternal Heavenly Father help all of us toward Christian departure from this wretched life and into that eternal bliss, just as he called Dr. Martin to the great task. And our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom he loyally preached and to whom he confessed. And the Holy Spirit that strengthened him with godly power against the pope, and all the gates of hell, with such outstanding vigor, great courage, and heart during many fierce battles.

We, Dr .Justus Jonas, Master Michael Coelius and John Aurifaber of Weimar, testify that we were present during the blessed end of the Reverend Father, from the beginning to his final breath, bearing witness before God and our own final journey and conscience, that nothing we have heard and seen was different, as have the princes, ladies, gentlemen, and all others who were there. And we have told this no different from the way

wie es allenthalben ergangen vnd gesche-
hen. Gott / der Vater vnser Herr Ihesu
Christi / verleihe vns al-
len sein gnade/

AMEN.

the way it actually happened. God, Father of our
Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on us all.

AMEN

Martin Luther— Life Chronology

- 1483: Martin Luther is born on November 10, son of Hans and Martha Luther (originally, Luder) at Eisleben, county of Mansfeld.
- 1484: The family moves to the mining and smelting town of Mansfeld, where Hans Luther finds employment as a miner. He later becomes lessee of several smelting centers and one of four elected members of the town council.
- 1490: Martin Luther attends Latin School at Mansfeld, studying grammar and syntax, the Classics, religion, and singing.
- 1497: Luther, now fourteen years old, goes to Magdeburg, where he continues his studies under the guidance of monks of the Brotherhood of the Common Light.
- 1498: Moves to Eisenach, becomes protégé of Kuntz Cotta and his wife, living at their homes. His studies gain under guidance from Rector Trebonius. Luther shows proficiency in Latin composition, grammar, speaking, and poetry.
- 1501: Martin Luther, now aged seventeen, enters University of Erfurt in the spring of the year. He receives Bachelor of Arts degree the following year. He becomes Master of Arts, having completed courses in Latin grammar, logic, rhetoric, physics, and philosophy, at twenty-two, ranking second in a class of seventeen students.
- 1505: Upon graduation from Erfurt, and at the behest of his father, Luther begins the study of law in May. But two months later, renouncing all worldly ambition, he enters the

monastery of the Augustinian Eremites at Erfurt. Martin Luther attributes this sudden decision to a vow he made on the road from Mansfeld to Erfurt, when he was prostrated by a flash of lightning. After a year as a novitiate, Luther takes the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity. He is ordained as a priest in 1507 and continues biblical and theological studies at the monastery and at the University of Erfurt.

1508–1509: Luther spends a year at the University of Wittenberg, lecturing on the philosophy of Aristotle. On returning to Erfurt, he obtains the degree of *Sententiarius* in dogmatic theology.

1511: Luther, at the suggestion of John Staupitz, vicar general of his order, is transferred to the monastery at Wittenberg. The following year he is appointed subprior of the monastery. Also in 1512, Luther becomes doctor of theology at the University of Wittenberg and succeeds Staupitz as professor of biblical literature.

1512–1513: While meditating extensively on the inner meaning of key passages in Paul's Epistle to the Romans, during the winter, Luther achieves what he regards as an ultimate understanding of man's relationship to God. His lectures on the Psalms (1513–1515) and on the Epistle to the Romans reflect an evolution in Luther's religio-philosophical thought.

1517: On October 31, Martin Luther places his Ninety-five Theses on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg. His theses are largely directed against the traditional church practices of "indulgences," which had deteriorated into payments by the devout to church officials, with the understanding that such payments would erase sin and guilt. Luther's opposition to this concept, which had evolved through various practices during several centuries, was heightened by the appearance in Wittenberg of John Tetzel, acting for Albrecht of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz,

who was "selling" indulgences for the alleged purpose of rebuilding Saint Peter's Cathedral at the Vatican, but actually to enlarge his own domain. Luther, who had visited Rome on a pilgrimage in 1510, expresses accumulated doubts concerning official church practices in his Ninety-five Theses, provoking spirited public discussion.

1518: Under attack from churchmen, Luther addresses a letter to Pope Leo X, designed to refute charges against him, which included accusations of heresy and schism. Luther's Theses are examined at the Vatican by Prierias, master of the palace. As a result, the Pope orders Luther to appear in Rome within sixty days as a heretic and rebel against ecclesiastical authority. The citation, delivered by the papal legate in Germany, Cardinal Cajetan, is ultimately withdrawn by the Pope. Withdrawal was prompted by the intercession of the lector of Saxony, Frederick, also known as "Frederick the Wise," as well as by political preparations for the election of a successor to Emperor Maximilian I. Luther did appear before Cajetan at Augsburg, but refused to give an unconditional retraction. He publishes an account of these proceedings, the *Acta Augustana*.

1519: Consideration of Luther's case by the Roman Curia is interrupted by the death of Emperor Maximilian, January 11, and by negotiations for his successor. In July Luther engages in a public dispute with John Maier of Eck, known as Dr. Eck, at Leipzig. In the course of their debate, Luther expresses doubts of the divine right of the papacy, emphasizes the supreme authority of biblical Scripture, and questions the infallibility of the General Council at Rome. Others soon take sides in this widening dispute.

1520: Eck goes to Rome, where the Curia appraises Luther's positions. From this results the papal bull, *Exsurge Domine*, finding Luther guilty of forty-one errors, issued in June. It gives him sixty days in which to retract his views; otherwise,

it states, he and his supporters would be excommunicated from the church, arrested, and punished as heretics. Luther, after restating his position in a number of publications, publicly burns the bull on December 20 outside Wittenberg's Elster Gate.

1521: Pope Leo X issues a Bull of Excommunication, *Decet Romanum*, against Luther in January, asking Emperor Charles V, successor to Maximilian, to execute its conditions. But the emperor, in response to pressures from Frederick of Saxony and the majority in the parliament, or Diet, at Worms, asks Luther to be examined before the Diet. The parliamentary body hears Luther, on April 17, acknowledge authorship of the books which had been described as heretic; but on the following day, instead of recanting, he asks to be convinced that his interpretation of the Scriptures is erroneous. This demand creates a furor. The emperor orders Luther to leave Worms on April 26. On May 4 he is clandestinely picked up by horsemen in the Thuringian Forest and spirited away to the elector's Wartburg Castle, where he remains in hiding for ten months.

1522: Luther stays at Wartburg Castle until the spring. He completes a series of writings and corresponds extensively with friends; mainly, however, this period of isolation enables him to undertake a translation of the New Testament from the Greek into common German. Meanwhile, at Wittenberg, others develop his ideas into still more sweeping attacks against church authority. This prompts him to publish a pamphlet of *Warning against Unrest and Revolt* and to return to Wittenberg in March. Trying to combine conservative adherence to basic church concepts with revolutionary demands, Luther enters upon a period of disputes that frequently find him at odds not only with representatives of Roman authority, but also with other members of the evangelical movement and even, on occasion, with close

friends. Public support, among the clergy as well as the general population, for Luther's basic concepts becomes so widespread that the Diet, which meets at Nuremberg in 1522–1523 finds it impossible to enforce the anti-Lutheran Edict of Worms; it refuses to support the demand by Pope Adrian VI, successor to Leo X, for its execution. Archduke Ferdinand writes to his brother, Emperor Charles V, that "Luther's doctrine has taken such deep root that among a thousand persons there is no one who is not to some extent touched by it."

1524: Another Nuremberg Diet, reflecting the influence of another pope, Clement VII, pledges to enforce the anti-Luther edict "as far as possible." Luther issues an attack against the Diet, as well as against the emperor. Toward the end of the year, anti-feudal peasant uprisings linked to the evangelical movement prompt Luther to back civil authority, although several of his prominent followers support the uprisings. On the one hand, he supports political demands of the peasants, as in his *An Exhortation to Peace in Response to the Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants*, issued in April 1525; on the other hand, he backs the feudal rulers in his pamphlet *Against the Murderous and Thieving Peasant Bands*, published the following month. Frederick the Wise dies and is succeeded by John Frederick as Elector of Saxony, a staunch but less influential protector of Luther than his predecessor.

1526–1529: Political ramifications of the Luther-led Reformation movement come to the fore in 1526. In addition to the Elector of Saxony, other independent-minded German princes, such as Landgrave Philip of Hesse, assert themselves against emperor and pope. When the Diet meets, this time at Speyer, these Lutheran princes are allied with moderate Roman Catholics to achieve a suspension of the Edict of Worms. Philip Melanchthon, at the behest of the Elector

of Saxony and with Luther's help, drafts a blueprint of church administration, or *Kirchenordnung*, which greatly strengthens the territorial authority of the princes. However, at the Diet convened at Speyer three years later, Emperor Charles assembles a majority to reverse the earlier liberalization. The Lutheran minority issues an Appellation of Protestation, signed by fourteen cities, the Elector of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and four other princes; it is from this document that the designation "Protestant" stems. In 1529 a theological disagreement arises between Luther and the Swiss reformer Huldreich Zwingli (1484–1531), who is backed by South German sympathizers. On the urging of Philip of Hesse, the two men meet at Marburg in October. Their differences center on the interpretation of the Lord's Supper; Luther takes the view that Christ's body is actually present in sacramental bread and wine, while Zwingli admits only a spiritual presence. They fail to achieve a compromise.

1530–1536: The Diet meet at Augsburg in 1536. Luther, technically still under sentence of the Worms edict, is represented by Philip Melancthon, who outlines a confession of the Lutheran faith, the "Augsburg Confession." Melancthon is inclined to compromise with the emperor's position, but Luther intervenes with a series of letters. He strengthens the determination of Elector John Frederick to organize the Protestant League of Smalcldad in alliance with Philip of Hesse and other princes. Threatened by a Turkish advance in southern Europe, Emperor Charles agrees to a religious peace at Nuremberg in 1532. Luther takes a more conciliatory position toward the sacramental question, and comes to an agreement with the South Germans (Wittenberg Concord of 1536). While inclined toward compromise with the Swiss evangelists, following Zwingli's death, Luther remains adamant toward the Anabaptists, and in 1536 joins with

Melanchthon in advocating the death penalty for followers of their doctrines.

- 1540–1545: Luther agrees, secretly and with misgivings, to a second marriage for Philip of Hesse. As he opposes annulment as reminiscent of Roman practice and does not sanction divorce, Luther falls back on the Old Testament concept of multiple marriage, in effect endorsing bigamy. His decision becomes public knowledge and he is subjected to bitter criticisms. His *Wittenberg Reformation* of 1545 is an attempt to bridge the gap between the Lutheran princes and the Emperor. Later that year, he tries twice, in October and December, to mediate disagreements between the counts of Mansfeld in his native town, Eisleben.
- 1546: On January 23, Luther leaves Wittenberg for Eisleben, having once again been asked to settle the disputes between the Mansfeld counts. He dies in his native city on February 18 and is buried in Wittenberg on February 22.

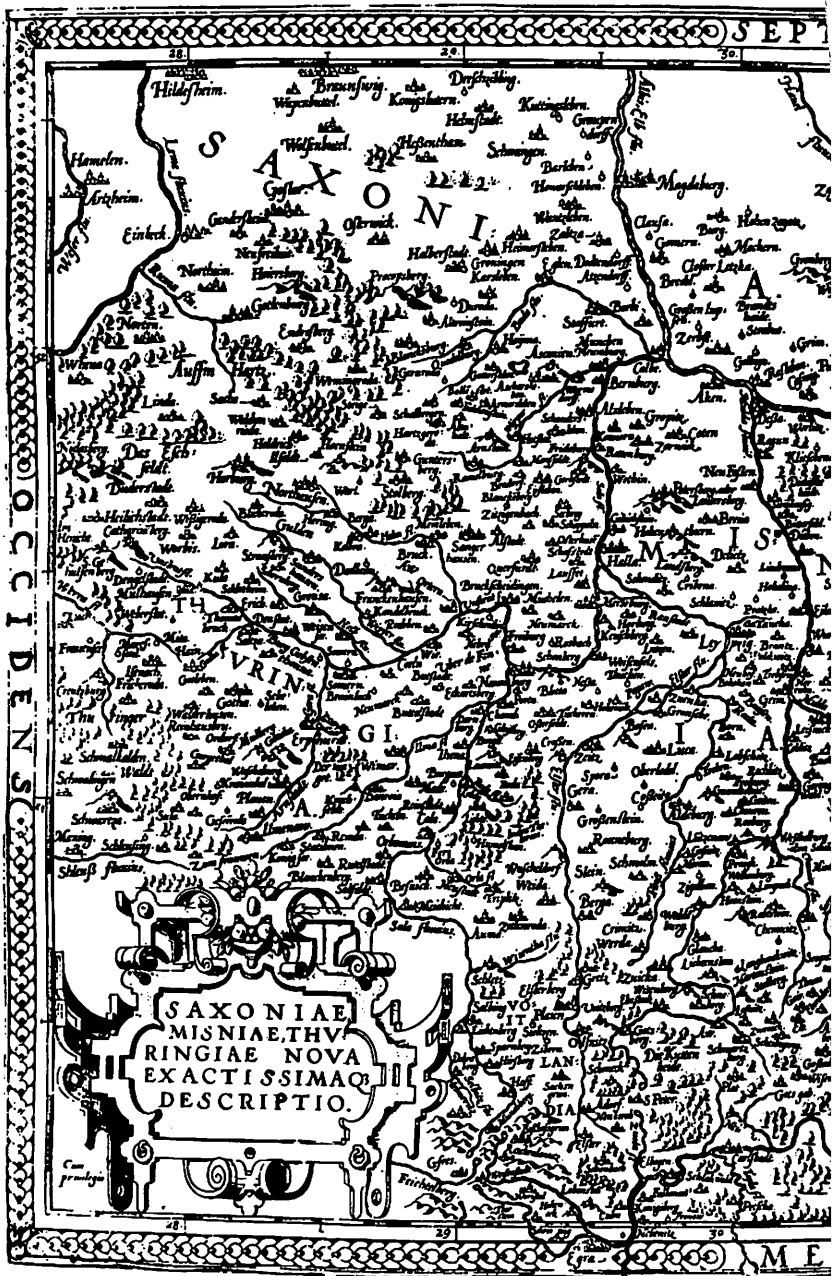
Chronology

January 23 to February 22, 1546

- January 23: Martin Luther leaves Wittenberg for Eisleben, where he is to mediate a dispute among the counts of Mansfeld; he spends the night, en route, at Bitterfeld.
- January 24: Luther arrives in Halle, where he stays at the home of his long-time collaborator, Dr. Justus Jonas.
- January 25: Flood conditions on the Saale River prevent Luther's party from leaving the city. He preaches at Halle's Church of Our Lady.
- January 26/27: Flood conditions remain critical.

- January 28: Luther crosses the swollen Saale River, together with Dr. Jonas and his three sons, Hans, Martin, and Paul.
- January 29 to February 17: Luther remains in Eisleben, conducting negotiations with members of the Mansfeld family, with Dr. Jonas participating.
- February 17: Luther complains of chest pains and receives medical treatment; sleeps, but does not recover.
- February 18: Luther dies in the early morning hours.
- February 19: The body is taken to St. Andrews Church, Eisleben, where Dr. Jonas delivers the first eulogy.
- February 20: Michael Coelius delivers second eulogy; Luther's body is taken to Halle, Church of Our Lady.
- February 21: Luther's body passes through Bitterfeld at noon, arrives in Kemberg in the afternoon.
- February 22: Funeral procession, including dignitaries and family, in Wittenberg from Elster Gate to Castle Church. Eulogies by Dr. John Pomeranus and Dr. Philip Melancthon. Luther is buried near pulpit.

The map on the following pages was originally drawn by Johann Criginger, a Lutheran theologian and pastor at Marienberg in the Erz Mountains. The map is entitled *Chorographia nova Electoratus Saxonici et totius Misniae cum adiacentibus regionibus*, as it encompasses not only Saxony at that time, but surrounding areas as well. Criginger approached the Elector August of Saxony in the summer of 1567, requesting a subsidy in order to complete the map. The Elector objected to use of his picture and coat of arms, which implied official endorsement; he also corrected some of the place names. Once Criginger made these changes, the Elector paid fifty guilders toward completion of the project. The copper engraving was made in Prague, but only a small edition was printed. However, the famous pioneer cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–98) copied the map and included it in his fifty-three-map volume *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, the first edition of which appeared in Antwerp in 1570, went through many subsequent printings, and achieved wide circulation.





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